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THE SENTIMENTAL MOOR IN SPANISH LITERATURE BEFORE 1600

HARRY AUSTIN DEFERRARI

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Dedicated

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FOREWORD

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INTRODUCTION

In 1595 there was published for the first time an alleged historical account of the controversies of the several kings of Granada, and of the quarrels between the two principal tribal factions, the Zegries and the Abencerrages, with their respective followers,—the whole colorful narrative taking as a background the brilliant and tragic final days of that city under the last of its Moorish rulers. In its first edition this book is entitled: *Historia de los vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages Caualleros Moros de Granada, de las Ciuiles guerras que huuo en ella, y batallas particulares que huuo en la Vega entre Moros y Christianos, hasta que el Rey Don Fernando Quinto la ganó.* The edition of 1670 first uses as a title the shortened form *Guerras civiles de Granada*, and it is by this name that the book has now come to be generally designated.

The popularity of the literary types and situations involved in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* is manifested by the fact that this famous work of Ginés Pérez de Hita went through twenty-two editions in Spain up to the year 1848, in addition to two Spanish editions published in Portugal, two in France, and one in Antwerp. It was translated into French three times, into English once, and into German once.[1] Ménendez y Pelayo[2] mentions some of the literary counterparts and descendants of Pérez de Hita's Moors:

"Esos Moros son los del *Romancero General*, los de las comedias de Lope de Vega y sus discípulos, los de la *fiesta de toros* de Moratín el padre, los de las novelas sentimentales de Mademoiselle de Scudéry (*Almahide*) y de Madame de Lafayette (*Zaïde*), los del caballero Florián en su empalagoso y ridículo *Gonzalo de Córdoba*, los de Chateaubriand en el *Último Abencerraje*, los de Washington Irving en su crónica anovelada de la conquista de

[1] Paula Blanchard-Demouge edition of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Madrid, 1913–15; Part I, pp. XCVII ff.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, I, pp. CCCLXXXVI–CCCLXXXVII. See also articles by Cazanave, *Une Tragédie mauresque de Voltaire, "Zulime"* and *Le Roman hispano-mauresque en France* in *Revue de Litt. Comp.*, V, 1925, 239–245 and 594–640; and E. Buceta's *Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo XIX*, in *Rev. Hisp. LXII*, 1924, 459–555.

Granada, los de Martínez de la Rosa en *Doña Isabel de Solís* y en *Moraima;* son los moros de toda la literatura granadina anterior al poema de Zorrilla, donde la fantasía oriental toma otro rumbo, poco seguido después."

A type of hero so universally popular as these Moors is well worth studying, especially since it will be shown that concerning the origin of this type certain unjustified statements have been made.

Who, then, are these Zaides and Reduans and Zaidas whose adventures pleased the hearts of the gentle readers of Spain less than a hundred years after they had caused the ancestors of those same readers to fear and fight desperately for the safety of Spain and Christendom?

From the hundreds of characters made to live by Pérez de Hita, let us choose as typical "nuestro moro Zayde":

"Pues tornando a nuestro Moro Zayde, valeroso Abencerrage, quedó tan apassionado por lo que la bella Zayda le dixo, que vino a gran descaecimiento de su persona, sólo en pensar si sería verdad que los padres de Zayda la querían casar; y ansí con este cuydado muy affligido y pensativo andava el gallardo Moro, y muchas vezes passeava la calle de su dama, como solía; mas ella no salía a las ventanas, como otras vezes solía hazer, si no era alguna vez al cabo de muchos días, aunque la dama le amava en su coraçón muy ahincadamente; pero por no dar enojo a sus padres se escusava todo lo que podía de hablar con su cavallero Zayde, el qual muchas vezes mudava trages y vestidos conforme la passión que sentía. Unas vezes vestía negro solo; otras vezes, negro y pardo; otras, de morado y blanco, por mostrar su fe; lo pardo y negro por mostrar su trabajo. Otras vezes vestía azul, mostrando divisa de rabiosos celos; otras, de verde, por significar su esperança; otras vezes, de amarillo, por mostrar desconfiança, y el día que hablava con su Zayda se ponía de encarnado y blanco, señal de alegría y contento. De suerte que muy claro se echava de ver en Granada los effectos de su causa y de sus amores. Pues desta manera andava el valeroso Zayde tan amartelado, que vino a enflaquecer y estar mal dispuesto, y por consolarse, lleno de amorosas ansias, una noche muy oscura, escogida a su propósito, muy bien adereçada

su persona, tomó un rico laúd y se fué a la calle de su señora a la hora de la media noche, y començó a tocar muy estremadamente, como aquel que lo sabía muy bien hazer, y tocando muy sentidamente, en arábigo dixo esta sentida canción: . . . "[3]

The ancestor of this Zaide, from the point of view of literature, is Abindarráez, the Abencerrage. In the Abencerrage story, as found in the *Inventario* of Antonio de Villegas, we have this description of our sentimental Moor:

"El era grande de cuerpo, y hermoso de rostro, y parecía muy bien a caballo. Traía vestida una marlota de carmesí, y un albornoz de damasco del mismo color, todo bordado de oro y plata. Traía el brazo derecho regazado y labrada en él una hermosa dama, y en la mano una gruesa lanza de dos hierros. Traía una adarga y cimitarra, y en la cabeza una toca tunecí, que dándole muchas vueltas por ella, le servía de hermosura y defensa de su persona. En este hábito venía el moro mostrando gentil continente; y cantando un cantar que él compuso en la dulce membranza de sus amores, que decía:

'Nacido en Granada,—Criado en Cártama:
Enamorado en Coín,—Frontero de Álora.'

"Aunque a la música faltaba el arte, no faltaba al moro contentamiento; y como traía el corazón enamorado, a todo lo que decía daba buena gracia."[4]

If the Abencerrage is an ideal lover, he is also an ideal warrior, for he is well on his way to overcoming the five picked Christian knights who assail him, when one of the Christians sounds his horn for help. No less valiant a nobleman than Rodrigo de Narváez is finally able to overcome him only after a terrific struggle.

If the shades of *juglares* of olden times would be shocked at such a description of knightly qualities in a Moor, how much more would they be taken aback by what follows?

The Moor gives signs by his sighing and by his general dejec-

[3] *Ed. cit.*, Part I, pp. 45–46. The Blanchard-Demouge edition exclusively will be used in referring to the *Guerras civiles de Granada*.

[4] Villegas, *El Abencerraje*, reprinted by G. Le Strange, Cambridge University Press, 1924, pp. 3–4.

tion that he is suffering from more than physical wounds. Narváez is interested enough to reprove and question him. The Moor relates the story of his love. The Christian is moved to compassion, and allows his captive three days of absence wherein to enjoy the company of his bride. On his honor as a gentleman, the Moor promises to return at the given time. The Christian does not doubt the integrity of the Moor for a single instant. Indeed, the latter does return, bringing his bride with him; and the captor takes the last step in generosity by granting both the lovers their absolute freedom, refusing all offers of ransom.

We have, here, the apparent anomaly of a gentlemanly Moor. He is capable of loving in the grand manner, with the requisite sighs and complete surrender. He is handsome; he is dressed as the Moorish counterpart of a Christian gentleman should be dressed; and, above all, he, a Moor, has outfought four of the best Christian knights, and has only succumbed after great exhaustion to the valiant Rodrigo de Narváez.

The interesting question immediately occurs to us: How true to life is this sentimental or Christianized Moor? The best scholars have been unanimous in asserting that he is not at all true to life, but that he is an old enemy idealized by the generous victors. Ticknor, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and Menéndez y Pelayo have all maintained that opinion, and others have not hesitated to adopt it. The statement of Menéndez y Pelayo follows:

"Los moros de Ginés Pérez de Hita, galantes, románticos y caballerescos, alanceadores de toros, jugadores de sortija, 'blasonados de divisas como un libro de Saavedra,' según la chistosa expresión del Conde de Circourt, son convencionales en gran parte y no dejan de prestarse a la parodia y a la caricatura con sus zambras y saraos, sus marlotas y alquiceles, que allá se van con los cándidos pellicos y zampoñas de los pastores de las églogas. Pero en la novedad de su primera aparición resultaban muy bizarros y galanes; respondían a una generosa idealización que el pueblo vencedor hacía de sus antiguos dominadores precisamente cuando iban a desaparecer del suelo español las últimas reliquias de aquella raza. Moros más próximos a la verdad hubieran agradado menos, y el éxito coronó de tal modo

el tipo creado por Ginés Pérez de Hita y por los autores de romances moriscos, que se impuso a la fantasía universal, y hoy mismo, a pesar de todos los trabajos de los arabistas, es todavía el único que conocen y aceptan las gentes de mundo y de cultura media en España y en Europa."[5]

This study of the origin of the sentimental Moor has resulted in the acquisition of much evidence which tends to discredit these traditional views. A contradiction of such noteworthy authorities will seem less bold when we consider that Menéndez y Pelayo himself has elsewhere given us a clue as to what a careful historical investigation of the Moors in Spain might bring forth:

"Aun por lo que toca á los juegos de toros, cañas y sortijas, al empleo de blasones, divisas y motes, y al ambiente de galantería que en todo el libro se respira, y que parece extraño a las ideas y hábitos de los sarracenos, ha de tenerse en cuenta que el reino granadino, en sus postrimerías y aun mucho antes, estaba penetrado por la cultura castellana, puesto que ya en el siglo XIV podía decir Aben-Jaldún que 'los moros andaluces se asemejaban a los gallegos (es decir, a los cristianos del Norte) en trajes y atavíos, usos y costumbres, llegando al extremo de poner imágenes y simulacros en el exterior de los muros, dentro de los edificios y en los aposentos más retirados'."[6]

It may be seen clearly that the importance of Menéndez y Pelayo's second statement and of the historical evidence to which it might lead were not overlooked by him, but since he has left that side of the question undeveloped, his more elaborated and emphasized statement of the fictional nature of the sentimental Moor has been the one generally adopted.

To ascertain the extent of the fictional element, if any, in our sentimental Moor, we must obviously first ascertain, as far as possible, his exact historical nature. In view of the many categorical statements to the effect that Abindarráez, Reduán and their like are fictional, it is surprising that no one has ascribed importance to the establishment of an obviously necessary

[5] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. CCCLXXXVI.
[6] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. CCCLXXXI.

criterion to be used as a definite point of departure. Reasoning has apparently gone along such lines as the following: (1) The Moors were Mohammedans; the Spaniards were Christians; Mohammedans are polygamous; Christians are monogamous; Moorish customs and costumes are naturally different from those of Christians. (2) The expression "sentimental Moor" is used to designate a Moor whose moral code and whose habits are essentially those of Christians. (3) Therefore, the "sentimental Moor" is a contradiction of terms, and the type is consequently unhistorical. The path we are to follow is clear: we must analyze our premises.

In our desire to proceed systematically on the trail of the Moor, we must remember that he is a wary creature who takes on, at least, three different forms: (1) the Moor as he appeared to his own historians; (2) as he appeared to Spanish historians; and (3) as he appeared in Spanish literature.

Since he is of the earth, we should not be surprised to find that his three forms are not constant, and that even to those best qualified to describe him accurately he changes in many ways, according to time and place and circumstances.

Details of racial and religious differences existing among the African invaders of the Spanish peninsula are fortunately not to be our especial concern, but the fact that many differences did exist among them, and the nature of some of those differences, are very important. Any appreciation of those differences on the part of Spaniards need not concern us, however, for it will be made apparent in Chapter II that to the "Rúms" (pre-invasion Christians and their uncontaminated descendants) the invaders were all roughly classed together as "moros" or "árabes". The acceptance or tolerance among Spaniards of the infinite, intermediate stages of "*Morería*", however, was generally a matter of local opinion and was relative to the danger of invasion, revolt or treachery at the time concerned.

An appreciation of the vast numbers of Christians who became Mohammedans, and of Mohammedans who became Christians is very essential to a proper understanding of the influence constantly and naturally exerted between the two sects, in spite of their underlying prejudices.

As for the Jew, we shall see that, characteristically, perhaps, he has played the part required of him by practical considerations. He, then, is a neutral body, so far as the antagonism of Christians and Moors is concerned, capable of absorbing whatever brand of patriotism suits his purpose. If, however, he has leanings in any particular direction, we can hardly blame him, in view of the treatment accorded him by his successive masters, for welcoming the invaders from Africa, many of whom, moreover, professed the same religion as himself.

Only after having thus arrived at our historical criterion by an evaluation of the heterogeneous inhabitants of Spain, will we be able to judge of the reality or non-reality of a specific Moorish character. With our historical criterion in mind, we shall begin our consideration of the literature of Spain, with an eye to the treatment accorded to Moors, in order that we may watch the rise of the sentimental type.

The periods of time to be studied are: (1) from the eighth century (the Moorish invasion) to about 1492; (2) from 1492 to about 1550, the time of the lost version (mentioned by the adapter of the Corónica version) of the Abencerraje story; and (3) from about 1550 to the publication of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*.

The date of the capture of Granada is taken to mark one of the limits of time in order that there may be indicated what seems to be suggested by facts—a gradual increase in tolerance and friendliness on the part of Spanish Christians with respect to the thereafter harmless Moors.

The method suggested above, whereby the Moor in history is compared with the Moor in literature, will be carried out in each of the three chapters corresponding to the periods of time already indicated. The advantages and even the necessity of such a handling of our material will be readily seen when we realize that the Moor as an historical entity changes as time goes on, just as he changes in the literary works of Spaniards. Furthermore, the important fact to be remembered is that the Moor of Spanish literature is far from being necessarily an accurate portrayal of the contemporaneous Moor of history.

We have already stated our reason for choosing the year 1492

as marking the end of our first division of time. It will be noticed that the other two periods end with the appearance of literary works which serve as important milestones in the evolution of the sentimental Moor. Our comparison of the historical and the literary may thus be carried out, step by step, and we may thereby avoid the pitfalls into which those have fallen who say that the Moors of Pérez de Hita were distortions of reality because the Moors of those days were ordinary vendors of figs.

Chapter I

From the Eighth Century to 1492

If we are to seek for the true nature and condition of the Moors in Spain, it is obvious that we must have recourse to Moorish historians and to the works of recent scholars, whose findings cannot be suspected of partiality and prejudice. The Spanish chroniclers were clerics or wrote under the influence of the clergy. We cannot reasonably expect them to have an unbiased appreciation of the enemies of their God.[1]

Consistent with the plan of this study, therefore, we shall first consider the Moor as he is most accurately portrayed by Arabic historians. The Spanish chroniclers or historians will be taken up subsequently for the purpose of obtaining supplementary historical material and of learning their attitude toward the Moors. They will thus serve in our study of the origin of the sentimental Moor as a semi-historical, semi-literary source leading into the field of pure literature. Proof of the unreliability of Christian historians, when dealing with the Moors, will be given in the proper place. We shall attempt to prove that the Moors are almost always depicted in Spanish literature as they really were *at one time or another* in history, and, especially, that the sentimental Moor is historical.

Historians of Spanish literature, in general, have denied that the figure of the sentimental Moor as he appears in Spanish literature has an historical basis. All non-Mohammedan[2] religious manifestations in Moorish life reflected in literature are considered fictitious by Menéndez y Pelayo,[3] and this attitude is reflected in the essay of W. W. Comfort who says that

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[1] It should be remembered, however, that although there was an example of censorship in Aragon in 1316, and in Castile in 1434, there was no official censorship by the state until 1558. Cf. Henry Charles Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition.* Philadelphia, 1890.

[2] The word "non-Mohammedan" is, of course, used advisedly here instead of "non-Moorish." Some of the mistakes made by scholars thus far have resulted precisely from the assumption that those two words are practically synonymous.

[3] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* I, pp. LV and LVII.

"it may be stated in a general way that this numerous class of romantic Moorish ballads (which served as a basis for much of Pérez de Hita's book) yields us no matter for this study beyond the totally false historical aspect under which the Moors are portrayed."[4]

Hurtado and González Palencia speak of "los errores en que incurre (Pérez de Hita) acerca de la lengua, costumbres y religión de los moros (v.gr., suponer el culto de los ídolos entre éstos al hablar de un Mahoma de oro)."[5]

It is, therefore, our immediate purpose to attempt to show that these Christian and non-Mohammedan traits actually existed among the Moors.

Who, then, were the real Moors of history? In the first place, we find that of the various non-Spanish races whom the Spaniards classed together as Moors, the Berbers were by far the most numerous.[6] They differed radically from the western Mussulman and always retained distinct traces of their individuality in customs and language. Indeed, their individuality was so great that they were able to make several concerted attempts to shake off the yoke of their wily leaders in the conquest of Spain, realizing that it was they themselves who had done most of the fighting.[7] As for their religion we find that most of them, although nominally converted to Islam, still professed the Jewish religion[8] or adhered to the rites of Paganism. A considerable portion of them still worshipped idols, and a few professed Christianity.[9] Dozy[10] cites an interesting case of a

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[4] *The Moors in Spanish Popular Poetry*, *Haverford Essays*, Haverford, Pa., 1909; page 297.

[5] Juan Hurtado y Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, Madrid, 1921; page 419.

[6] Simonet, *Granada*, Granada, 1872, page 84. De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History;* London, 1922, page 230.

[7] Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age;* Seconde édition, Leyde, 1860, I, 128. Gayangos' translation of *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkari, London, MDCCCXL, Volume II, notes, page 410.

[8] Gayangos shows that the invasion of Spain was due in great part to the repeated invitations of the Jews of that country to their Berber co-religionists. Notes, I, 511.

[9] Gayangos, *op. cit.*, Notes, I, 511.

[10] *Op. cit.*, I, 136.

colony of Berbers who were absorbed by Christians and re-established themselves in Astorga and Leon.

Some of the Berbers, then, were Mohammedans, but others were Jews, Christians and idolators. Since they far outnumbered the Arabs in Spain, we cannot be surprised to see many non-Mohammedan characteristics manifested among the "Moors".

It is the idolatry of the Moors which has seemed most unreal to Menéndez y Pelayo and others, so we shall investigate that question a little more thoroughly.

De Lacy O'Leary[11] begins his explanation of idolatry among the Berbers by saying that whereas the religion of Islam spread rapidly amongst the Berbers, it took a particular development which showed a survival of many pre-Islamic ideas. He lists some of the unorthodoxies of the Berbers, and adds:

"All this, of course, is no normal development of Islam, to which it is plainly repugnant. How thin a veneer of Moslem usages covers over a mass of primitive animism may be seen from Dr. Westermarch's essay on 'Belief in Spirits in Morocco', the first fruits of the newly established Academy at Abo in Finland ('Humaniora', I, 1, Abo, Finland, 1920), and from Dr. Monet's 'Le Culte des saints musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord'. (Geneva, 1905)."

Our next step is to inquire more thoroughly into the pre-Islamic religious ideas which we are told survived among the Berbers. Interesting information is given by George Sale in his "Preliminary Discourse on the Religious and Political Conditions of the Arabs before the Time of Mohammed," found in his translation of the Koran. Let us first quote his statements on idolatry:

"The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians among them."[12]

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[11] *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*; London, 1922; pp. 226–230.
[12] *The Koran*, London, 1876, p. 10.

His summing up of the question follows:

"Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worshipped also great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them, and not being named in the Koran, are not so much to our present purpose; for besides that every housekeeper had his household god, or gods, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home, there were no less than 360 idols."[13]

The fact that Moors are often found in Spanish literature as astrologers and necromancers is easily explained. One of the principal practices of pre-Islamic Mohammedans was the worshipping of stars.[14] The persistence of this practice in a milder form not only among the Berbers but among the Arabs themselves has been often demonstrated.[15]

One of the most striking of the apparently non-Mohammedan characteristics of the sentimental Moor is his monogamous attitude. To the hasty observer this attitude on the part of the Moors is an immediate proof of a Christian distortion of facts. That the Moors in Spanish literature are very rarely depicted as polygamous is certainly true. W. W. Comfort was able to find only one reference in popular literature to polygamy among the Saracens. To that one reference[16] we may add an early but not popular poem in which a Christian is described as marrying three women; but these two examples are simply the exceptions which prove the rule. The answer to this question is simply that, generally speaking, the Moors in Spain, as we shall see, were not polygamous, and that the *romances* in which polygamy is not mentioned, merely reflect actual conditions. We cannot, therefore, agree with Schack, D'Ancona, Renan, and W. W. Comfort who believe that the Christian

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[13] See also De Lacy O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Mahomet et le Coran;* Paris, 1865; pp. 49–80; Jules-Charles Scholl, *L'Islam et son Fondateur;* Neuchâtel, 1874; pp. 22–51; Italo Pizzi, *L'Islamismo;* Milano, 1903; pp. 62, 63, 118.

[14] De Lacy O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[15] De Lacy O'Leary, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23. Also D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam,* Chicago, 1909, pp. 1–129.

[16] *Chanson d'Antioche,* Verse 42. See also the verses of the Count of Paredes in the *Cancionero General* of Hernando del Castillo, Madrid, 1882, Vol. II, p. 249.

writers of *romances moriscos* were stupendously ignorant of Mohammedanism or that they deliberately made the Moors like Christians simply because they never mentioned polygamy.

This belief, although not specifically mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo and those who follow him, is obviously held by them since Christian, monogamous love-making is the *forte* of the sentimental Moor.

Turning to the preliminary discourse of George Sale's version of the Koran, we find the following:

"That polygamy, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments, is allowed by the Koran, every one knows; though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake, that Mohammed granted to his followers an unbounded plurality; some pretending that a man may have as many wives, and others as many concubines, as he can maintain; whereas, according to the express words of the Koran, no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines; and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people), that he marry one only, or if he cannot be contented with one, that he may take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number; and this is certainly the utmost Mohammed allowed his followers; nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses; nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be mentioned hereafter."[17]

It is true that the Mohammedan historians available in

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[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 94, 95. See also A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland;* Berlin, 1885; I, 205; J. W. H. Stobart, *Islam and Its Founder;* New York, 1901; p. 151; Marcus Dods, *Mohammed, Buddha and Christ;* New York, no date; pp. 54–68. The above-mentioned books all state that in practice most Mohammedans have limited themselves to one wife, generally because of poverty. Other works consulted for this question seem to assume the actual practice of polygamy from the fact that it is allowed by the *Koran*, although they do not specifically state that what is allowed is done.

translations make frequent references to plurality of wives, but it must be remembered that the historians deal almost exclusively with the personalities of rulers and others in high positions who, as it has been seen, were allowed special privileges.

We cannot pass by in silence the relatively high place continually accorded to women in such an important historical compendium as that of Al-Makkari.[18] Many of the women mentioned are poets and doctors, and they seem capable of attaining the highest positions. When they are wooed and loved, they retain their independence of opinion and choice; and they must be as assiduously and faithfully courted as their Christian sisters.

Into the balance on the side of an historical justification of the so-called Christianized Moor, we throw an important argument —that of the almost unbelievable number of "Moors" who were originally Christians. According to the reports made to Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienna (1313) a third of the inhabitants of Granada at that time were Christian renegades or captives. Hence, we need not wonder if we see Moors acting like Christians in real life or in literature. Julián Ribera shows that large numbers of Christians are regularly found to have been among the Moors whenever one is able to study the audiences of Moorish minstrels.[19]

Simonet calls attention to the numbers of Christians in Granada as voluntary or involuntary exiles and as captives.[20]

According to Dozy:[21] "Après la conquête arabe, une foule de chrétiens embrassèrent la religion des vainqueurs, en partie parce que l'intérêt les y poussait, mais en partie aussi parce qu'ils étaient convaincus que l'islamisme était la religion véritable: ramenant leur philosophie à la théorie du duel judiciaire, ils croyaient que le parti le plus fort est toujours le plus juste."

That Dozy cannot be far from the truth is shown by Al-Mak-

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[18] *Op. cit.*, I, 161ff. and II, 125–126.
[19] *La música de las Cantigas;* Madrid, 1922; pp. 73, 75–85.
[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26; see also p. 9.
[21] *Op. cit.*, I, 18.

kari[22] who gives a list of learned theologians sent from Africa to instruct the natives of Spain in the duties of the Mohammedan religion which they had embraced.

Hernando de Baeza[23] emphasizes the truth of the events narrated by him by stating that he drew his information from "los muchos de los cristianos peruertidos que auía así en la cibdad de Granada como en la casa del rrey."

Finally, the following paragraph shows to how great an extent the Christians who became Moors were identified with their captors.

"Among the remarkable acts recorded of Al-mansúr, and which are not told of any other prince, one is, that his army was chiefly composed of (Christian) captives taken in his wars with the infidels. It is a well-authenticated fact, corroborated by the testimony of contemporary historians."[24]

In summing up this phase of our question, we cannot help but infer that all these Christians absorbed by the Moors could not have done otherwise than act strongly toward Christianizing at least psychologically their adopted brothers.

Our inference, moreover, is substantiated by the wealth of material at hand[25] which shows the increasing laxity of Moors in religious matters, and their resultant tolerance and even friendship for Christians in many individual cases and even in the official attitude of rulers.

Investigations show that the Moors generally retained their native costumes, armor, etc., but also that they frequently adopted those of the Christians.[26] For ample proof that the costumes and armor described in the *romances moriscos* are historical, one needs only to refer to the many statements of historians, or to read some of the descriptive *romances* with Dozy's dictionary at hand.[27]

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[22] *Op. cit.*, II, 2. See also the note of Gayangos, II, 525.
[23] In M. J. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, München, 1863, p. 89.
[24] Al-Makkari, II, pp. 214, 215. See also II, 525.
[25] Gayangos, I, 506; II, 490–491; Al-Makkari, II, 376; Dozy, II ap. XXX, Simonet, pp. 84, 110, 112.
[26] Al-Makkari, I, 116–117; Gayangos I, 407; Simonet, pp. 24 ff.
[27] Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes;* Amst. 1845.

We now pass on to Spanish records of the Moor in Spain, meeting first with the old chronicles and the heterogeneous material of which they were composed.

It is not our intention to provide elaborate evidence of the Moorish influence on Spanish chroniclers. For such evidence, we have only to turn to the chroniclers themselves who quote the Moors as proofs of their own thoroughness and exactness, and to such authorities as Menéndez Pidal,[28] Gayangos[29] and Dozy.[30] If the Moors are not quoted, then Rodrigo de Toledo and Lucas de Tuy surely are quoted, in which case the information is often from a Moorish source, as Menéndez Pidal and Gayangos, with many others, have shown.

It will be recalled that another important source of the chronicles, even so far back as the days of the two prelates mentioned above, was the repertoire of the *juglares épicos*.

Indeed the *Crónica General* and its numerous progeny contain in some form or other, practically all the Spanish epic material which has come down to us.[31] Before we consider that material in so far as it concerns our subject, let us turn for a moment to consider the *juglares* who sang it.

In studying the foreign influences exerted on Spanish epic and lyric material, Menéndez Pidal calls attention to the foreign minstrels, and adds: "Y más aún: hay que tener en cuenta otras influencias más extrañas, considerando que los juglares conviven también con cantores musulmanes. El poeta árabe era también en muchos aspectos semejante al juglar: viaja como los juglares; sirve, como éstos, de mensajero, y recibe oro y vestidos en dón. La influencia de este tipo sobre el análogo cristiano debió ejercerse desde muy antiguo, desde la época misma de los orígenes de la poesía española, cuando un cantor andaluz, el ciego Mocadem ben Moafa, de Cabra, inventa, a fines del siglo IX, sus mohaxahas, no en árabe, sino en lengua romance y en verso vulgar, con estrofa usada después por las

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[28] *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, Madrid, 1924; p. 312 ff.
[29] *Op. cit.*, I, 317, and II, 425.
[30] *Op. cit.*, II, ap. LVII. See also, Beuter, I, 163, in *La Corónica General de toda España, y especialmente del Reyno de Valencia*, Valencia, 1604.
[31] Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, pp. 415–416.

literaturas románicas; más tarde, en el siglo XIII, no sólo en las cortes de España, sino en la del emperador Federico II y en la de Manfredo, en Palermo y en Nápoles, los juglares sarracenos eran muy estimados al lado de los cristianos."[32] The same writer states that "los juglares, como los scopas y como los cantores musulmanes, eran muchas veces autores de las composiciones que cantaban."

At this point we are tempted to quote the lines by which Menéndez Pidal elaborates his statement that "la influencia de la juglaría musulmana hubo de ser muy grande,"[33] especially since those lines are crowded with such illuminating evidence of the close social contact of Moors and Christians from the time of Alfonso X until well into the 15th century:

"Ya hemos dicho que las cortes de España y de Sicilia eran en Europa los principales puntos de contacto de las dos juglarías, cristiana y sarracena. Respecto a la corte de Alfonso X nos informa una miniatura de las *Cántigas de Santa María*, la cual presenta ante nuestros ojos las figuras de un juglar moro y otro cristiano cantando a dúo, ambos de pie junto a una mesita donde está el vino que les inspira; esa miniatura representa gráficamente la íntima colaboración de dos juglarías de las más diversas que pudiera uno imaginarse. Habrá, empero, quien tenga por increíble que esa miniatura haya de referirse concretamente a los loores de la Virgen, en los que parece no podía tomar parte un músico moro; yo pensé así y seguiría pensando lo mismo si, gracias a reposadas conversaciones de paseo con J. Ribera, no me hubiera penetrado al fin la íntima convicción de éste acerca de la gran influencia del arte musulmán sobre el cristiano. En apoyo de la opinión de Ribera están los cánones del Concilio de Valladolid, en 1322, donde los obispos castellanos allí reunidos condenan severamente la costumbre que entonces tenían los fieles de llevar a las vigilias nocturnas, celebradas en las iglesias, juglares sarracenos o judíos para cantar y tañer instrumentos.

Fuera de la Iglesia la influencia morisca es evidente. En la

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[32] Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, pp. 10-11. As authorities for these paragraphs Menéndez Pidal cites Schack and Ribera. See also De Lacy O'Leary, p. 280.

[33] *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, pp. 136–139.

corte de Sancho IV de Castilla cobraban sueldo mensual, en 1293, hasta 27 juglares, de los cuales, 13 eran moros (entre ellos dos mujeres), uno era judío y 12 eran cristianos; además, las nóminas de la casa real registran otros dos juglares moros a quienes se da paño para su vestir. Y si bajamos de la corte al pueblo, nos encontramos con el Arcipreste de Hita, que declara haber compuesto muchas cántigas para cantaderas moras; tan familiar era entonces el arte del juglar musulmán, que el Arcipreste se toma el trabajo de enumerar todos los instrumentos que no sirven bien para acompañar 'los cantares en arábigo.' A fines del mismo siglo XIV pudiera también simbolizar la unión de las dos corrientes artísticas el matrimonio de Garci Fernández de Gerena con una juglaresa que 'había sido mora.' Para el siglo XV mencionaré un asiento de las actas municipales de Teruel, 30 de agosto de 1443, en que los regidores de la ciudad mandan pagar a Mahoma Chacho, moro del lugar de Fuentes, juglar, diez sueldos 'por que havia feto sonar con su cazamara en la feria proximo pasada.'

Una de las escuelas más importantes de juglares musulmanes en la segunda Edad Media se albergaba en las calles de la morería de Játiva; de allí salían los artistas moros para recorrer, no sólo el reino de Aragón, sino los de Castilla y Navarra. En el siglo XIII un tamborero de Sancho IV era jativés; en 1337 Pedro IV de Aragón tenía también a sueldo dos juglares de Játiva tañedores del rabel y de la exabeba, y todavía en 1439 varios moros y moras de Játiva fueron a Navarra para actuar en las bodas del Príncipe de Viana celebradas en Olite."

Consistent with the plan of this study we shall choose from the body of Spanish epic material only those narratives which are more or less directly concerned with Moors or with the Spanish attitude toward them. The titles of the novelistic themes we shall consider are the titles adopted by Menéndez Pidal in his various studies.

La hija del conde don Julián interests us only in so far as the juglar who treated it was, in the opinion of Menéndez Pidal, a *mozárabe.*

La Condesa traidora tells of a Christian countess who plans the death of her husband and son in order to bring about her marriage with the Moorish king Almanzor.

The Siete Infantes de Salas tells the well-known story of the vengeance taken by Mudarra for the death of his half-brothers. In this story we are interested in the fact that Mudarra's mother is Moorish, the sister of King Almanzor of Cordova. A submissive attitude toward Almanzor, maintained throughout the poem, is also noteworthy.

The Cantar de la mora Zaida tells how the Moorish heroine fell in love with a Spanish king because of his fine reputation, and finally marries him. An account of the invasion of the Almoravides is included in this poem.

El Abad Juan de Montemayor tells of the traitor Don García who goes over to the Moors and takes the name Zulema.

Since the story of the Cid and of Fernán González are too well known to be repeated here, we shall pass on to mention the attitudes or moods displayed in the above-mentioned epics or fragments of epics.

As Menéndez Pidal points out in his discussion of the *Siete Infantes de Salas*, a submissive or tolerant attitude toward the Moors indicates an early composition.[34]

"Una actitud sumisa hacia Almanzor, cual se observa en la leyenda de los siete infantes, no pudo ser imaginada mucho después de la muerte del gran caudillo musulmán; sobre todo sería inimaginable para la inventiva de un juglar que viviese después de las grandes invasiones almorávides (1090-1110), después que los cristianos, guiados sobre todo por el Cid, olvidaron las antiguas ideas de convivencia con los moros españoles y las sustituyeron por odio irreconciliable a los nuevos invasores africanos. Cuando, mudadas ya las circunstancias y las ideas, el nombre de Almanzor entra tarde en una leyenda, como sucede en la de Fernán González o en la del abad Juan de Montemayor, entra en modo muy diferente, como enemigo con el cual no se trata sino para combatirle y vencerle, único aspecto en que podía concebir a un gran capitán moro cualquier juglar del siglo XII o del XIII. Cosa ésta bien de notar, que aunque el Almanzor histórico quedó retratado con rasgos bastante exactos en los poemas de los Infantes de Salas y de la Condesa traidora,

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[34] *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, pp. 323–324.

después, cuando se introdujo anacrónicamente en la leyenda de Fernán González, no pudo ser ya visto, a pesar de los modelos antiguos, como los antepasados lo vieron; no pudo ser ya concebido el moro como un poder que pesaba en la vida interna y familiar de los cristianos del norte.

Estos juglares primitivos cantaban, como vemos, luchas interiores de las familias señoriales castellanas, venganzas feroces, guerras intestinas, aventuras de traición y de infidelidad, o de amor y honra. Estos juglares antiquísimos fantasearon el primer drama de honor calderoniano en las aventuras del conde Garci Fernández, pero aún no tenían la idea de cantar una guerra nacional de reconquista. Tal idea no nacerá hasta después de la invasión almorávide, hasta que el Cid conquista a Valencia (1094), afirmando un odio implacable hacia los invasores africanos, y hasta que el espíritu de las Cruzadas triunfa. Sólo después de esto se escriben poemas en que la reconquista brilla y predomina como el de *Mio Cid*, vencedor del rey de Marruecos; el de *Fernán González*, héroe de las batallas de Lara y de Hacinas, o el del *Abad Juan* y su prodigiosa victoria sobre Almanzor."

At first thought one is apt to notice an apparent contradiction between the hostile attitude of Christians toward Moors after 1090, as explained in the above paragraphs, and the almost friendly attitude described by Menéndez Pidal in dealing with the juglares and by the statements in the first part of this chapter. A fairly probable explanation of such contradictory evidence may be found in the fact that the juglares served like the poets of any nation at a time of national danger, as conscious or unconscious instigators of a patriotic fervor generally destined to grow milder or to disappear altogether after the immediate danger loses its mysterious novelty or becomes averted. In other words, just as the Spanish terror and hatred of the 8th century grew into the tolerance of the 10th, so also the new outburst of hatred occasioned by the invasion of the Almoravides soon dwindled into the apathy, tolerance, and even admiration which explain the close contact of Moors and Christians described above, and which will be often mentioned again in the course of this study. Naturally, one cannot make the general statement that Moors and Spaniards had or have an affinity for each other. We can only

repeat what has already been said in the introduction a propos of a slightly different question: the tolerance of Moors by Spaniards was generally a matter of local opinion, and was determined by the danger of invasion, revolt or treachery at the time concerned.

The monk of Arlanza, who is generally reputed to have been the author of the *Fernán González*, adds to the spirit of the juglares that of the clergy with the resultant increase in patriotism and religious spirit.

Such clerical coloring is plainly seen also in the chronicles, as we have already mentioned. Menéndez Pidal[35] is not without support in his views of clerical distortions of reality. Dozy,[36] who holds the same opinion, cites the interesting case of Witiza.

Who was Witiza? One of the best and most pious of all Christian kings, say the Moors. But Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo de Toledo make him out to be a monster, because the Christian God had to have a reason—the sins of the Visigoth kings—for allowing the Spaniards to be enslaved by Mohammedans.

This natural tendency on the part of the clergy to color facts should be borne in mind as we proceed to a consideration of the later Spanish chroniclers and historians who at least can be said to have been under clerical influence.

As far as the main purpose of this study is concerned, anything which is said of the *Crónica General* and the epic material with it applies also to its immediate successors, the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, the *Tercera Crónica General*, the *Crónica de Castilla*, the *Crónica Particular del Cid*, *etc.*[37] Therefore, we may now pass on to a brief survey of later and less similar Spanish works.

In the *Anales Toledanos* (1219–1250), we are interested in the evidence of tourneys among the Moors in 1211, and in a record of the two crusades against the Mohammedans in 1217 and 1218.[38] The *Anales Toledanos Segundos* are the "obra de

[35] *La Crónica General de España*, Madrid, 1916, p. 18.

[36] *Op. cit.*, I, 17–19. For other material in support of these views, and for "an account of the attitude of Spanish narrative poets of the Sixteenth Century toward the Moors who held dominion over Spain in preceding centuries," see *The Moors in Epic Retrospect*, an article by John Van Horne in *Hispania*, Volume IX, 1926, pp. 313–324.

[37] Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Volume I, pp. 125-126.

[38] *Anales Toledanos I; España Sagrada*, Volume 23, Madrid, 1799, pp. 397, 401.

un morisco, que, aunque incorporado a la lengua y a la cultura románica, conserva su hostilidad a los cristianos y se complace en apuntar las derrotas que éstos sufren."[39]

Coming to the works of Pero López de Ayala[40] (1332–1407) we find an interesting request in the *Testamento del Rey Don Enrique Segundo*, recorded in the chronicle of that king:

"Otrosí, mandamos que sean sacados cien captivos de tierra de Moros, é que sean todas mugeres mozas de quarenta años ayuso."[41]

The *Crónica del Rey don Juan primero de Castilla é de Leon*[42] deals mostly with the Portuguese war, neglecting the Moors almost entirely.

The *Crónica del Rey don Enrique tercero*[43] gives us an interesting clue as to the real motive behind many "religious" uprisings. The particular case mentioned is that of a general uprising of Christians against the Jews and Moors living in their respective districts in various Spanish cities. López de Ayala tells us that "todo esto fué cobdicia de robar, segund paresció, más que devoción."

The *Adiciones a las Notas de la Crónica del Rey don Enrique III* include a letter from King Jucef of Granada to the city of Murcia informing the city that he wished to maintain peace. The tone of this letter is characteristic of all official communications between Moors and Christians from this period on. Extreme politeness and deference are the rule, and a perfectly human attempt to find a common ground of sentiment and fraternity is manifested by frequent mention of the *one* God.

The *Crónica del Rey don Pedro* tells of the help rendered to King Mahomad of Granada against "el rey Bermejo." Pedro's reason for so acting is explained thus by López de Ayala:

"E el Rey dixo a todos los suyos, que él avía de ayudar al Rey Mahomad de Granada, que era su vasallo, e le daba parias, e que el otro que se llamaba el Rey Bermejo le avía echado de su Regno contra razón e contra derecho."[44]

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[39] Menéndez Pidal, *La Crónica General de España*, p. 37.
[40] *B. A. E.*, V. 68.
[41] *B. A. E.*, V. 68, p. 40.
[42] *B. A. E.*, V. 68, pp. 65 ff.
[43] *B. A. E.*, V. 68, p. 177.
[44] *B. A. E.*, V. 66, p. 513.

We are led to wonder just how much Pedro's actions are motivated by a desire for justice when we are told that after being repulsed at Antequera, he halts before Granada with his army, sending to the foreground King Mahomad, thinking that if the Moorish pretender might be clearly seen from the city, many of the warriors of Granada would come out to join him.[45]

The Moorish philosopher Benahatin whom we shall mention in Chapter III in connection with the *Guerras civiles de Granada* plays an important part in the life of King Pedro. The latter has a profound respect for the wisdom of the famous Moor and frequently asks his advice on important matters. López de Ayala quotes some of Benahatin's letters. We are struck with their humility and their extremely polite tone.[46]

The last item to call our attention in the chronicles of López de Ayala is his account of the betrayal of the Christians by the Jews of Toledo which resulted in the capture of that city by the Moors.[47]

The fact that great numbers of Christians had abandoned their religion through choice or necessity is borne out by Christian as well as Mohammedan historians. On almost every page of the *Crónica de don Juan II* one is told of renegade Christians and renegade Mohammedans in various stages of conversion. The chapter called *De como Fray Vicente* (Saint Vincent Ferrer) *vino en Castilla* speaks of the many Jewish and Moorish converts to Christianity in all the cities of the kingdom.[48]

To the Moorish material referred to in the first part of this chapter more might be added from Spanish sources in confirmation of the historic reality of customs and costumes found in the *Guerras civiles de Granada*. Many pages of the *Crónica de don Juan* could be taken as exact counterparts of passages by Pérez de Hita descriptive of the use of Moorish garments and luxuries among Christians, of the widespread indulgence in *juegos de cañas*, in tourneys, and in chivalric love.

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[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 514.
[46] *Op. cit.*, pp. 567–570; and 586–588.
[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 421.
[48] *B. A. E.*, V. 68, p. 340.

The *Corónica de don Álvaro de Luna*[49] contains numerous descriptions of tourneys and jousts such as are described in the *Guerras civiles de Granada.*

We now come chronologically to the *Memorial de diversas hazañas* of Mosén Diego de Valera (1412–1487).[50] In this book are found many stories of skirmishes in which the Moors often receive praise for having conducted themselves valiantly and as noblemen. What seem to be authentic accounts of tourneys bear striking resemblance to certain descriptive passages in Pérez de Hita.

The information given by Alfonso de Palencia[51] (1423–1492) in his *Décadas* concerning Enrique IV shows that monarch to have been a Moor in everything but blood. Surrounded by Moors in his court, he ate, dressed and sinned like Moors, and wept at Moorish defeats.

Hernando del Pulgar (1436–1493?) in his *Crónica de los señores católicos* relates many episodes which have been proved to be the sources of much of Pérez de Hita's book, and which, therefore, constitute an important factor in the development of the sentimental Moor narratives.

The *Crónica del Rey don Enrique el cuarto* by Diego Enríquez del Castillo (1433–1504)[52] reveals what one may call a return to the older tradition regarding the Moors. His reaction is explained by the fact that he was a priest and the chaplain of his king. In reading his chronicle with its Bossuet-like fervor, we are far from obtaining a correct idea of popular sentiment. Chapter XIX tells "como Alonso Faxardo fué destruido por los males que hacía en el reyno de Murcia contra los christianos en favor de los moros . . . donde paresció que la mano poderosa de Dios le quiso castigar. . ."

The last of the historians to concern us in this period is Andrés Bernáldez (–1513) with his *Historia de los Reyes católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel.* In this book are mentioned the fol-

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[49] *La Crónica del Condestable don Álvaro de Luna*, Ed. Sancha, 1784.
[50] *B. A. E.*, V. 70.
[51] See *El Cronista Alonso de Palencia*, by A. Paz y Mélia, Madrid, 1914.
[52] *B. A. E.*, V. 70

lowing: Rodrigo de Narváez,[53] the hostile divisions in Granada,[54] the Zegríes,[55] the Abencerrages,[56] and many other elements of the Abencerrage story and the *Guerras civiles de Granada.* Especially significant are his chapter *De cómo vino la Reyna al real y la recibieron*,[57] which reads like a page of Pérez de Hita's book, and Chapter LXXXVII which records the crusade preached by Pope Sixtus against the Mohammedans.[58]

Other than the epic and historical material, very little is found in Spanish literature before 1492 with any degree of value for our study.

The chivalric attitude is reflected in some of the poems of Fray Iñigo de Mendoza and, of course, in the *Libro del Passo honroso de Suero de Quiñones.*

Pérez de Guzmán rises to an enthusiastically patriotic and religious level in his poetry,[59] but withal he is not bitter, and what may be taken as an indication of the increasing tolerance in religious matters is the interesting and human discussion of conversions in his *Generaciones y Semblanzas.*[60] Indeed, Pérez de Guzmán and his fellow Spaniards in general seemed to act according to the two contradictory couplets contained in the *Libro de los Exemplos.*[61]

"De homme infiel que es de otra ley,
Nunca fies; desto me crey.

and

"Quien de su enemigo ha piedat,
Digno es de grand bondat."

In our historical and literary survey we have reached the period of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. In closing this present chapter, let us bear in mind the human material out

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[53] *B. A. E.*, V. 70, pp. 570–572.
[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 570.
[55] *Op. cit.*, pp. 625, 628.
[56] *Op. cit.*, p. 616.
[57] *Op. cit.*, pp. 622, 623.
[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 632.
[59] See the *Antologia de poetas líricos castellanos*, I, 228, 246. Madrid, 1890.
[60] Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y Semblanzas.* Edicion y notas de J. Domínguez Bordona, Madrid, 1924.
[61] *B. A. E.*, V. 51, p. 479, and 481.

of which the Abencerrage story and the *Guerras civiles de Granada* are to be constructed. We have found that Christians and Moors were not separated by an impassable barrier even before the fall of Granada. As has been so often pointed out, a closer relationship between the two peoples is what one would naturally expect after they were no longer dangerous enemies. The revolts of the Moriscos would, of course, have some effect in maintaining the old hostility, but that was not to last. The important fact to remember is that the sentimental Moor of literature has a logical historical basis. His popularity will be dealt with later. Gradually he appears in popular lyric poetry, and it is in that genre that he undergoes his complete evolution, as will be clearly seen.

It is a platitude that nothing exists without an effect. Some influence, therefore, must have been exerted on our literary Moor by other books which we have not yet mentioned. Some of these books will be called upon to assist us in explanations of later developments. The influence of others has been found to be so slight or so vaguely general that they may be excluded. Love manifests itself in literature always; and there were such Moorishly-flavored books as *Calila y Dimna*, *Sendebar* and *Barlam*, but a perusal of such books has resulted in finding nothing specific enough to warrant attention. The Arcipreste de Hita uses Arabic words, and deals with Moorish women of a certain type; and there is the Mainet theme in *La gran conquista de Ultramar*, but we pass these by since it is obvious that no influence was exerted by them. What Menéndez y Pelayo says of the romances of chivalry may well be used in a general sense here:

"A pesar de ciertas semejanzas muy generales, que a fuerza de probar mucho no probarían nada, no puede admitirse influencia de las novelas caballerescas de los árabes en los libros occidentales de caballerías, cuyos orígenes están, por otra parte, bien conocidos y deslindados."[62]

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[62] *Orígenes de la novela*, V. I, p. XLIV.

Chapter II

From the Fall of Granada to About 1550

The period studied in this chapter closes about the year 1550, for it is to that time that we may ascribe, as will be seen, the appearance of the Abencerrage manuscript utilized by the anonymous revisor of the *Parte de la corónica del ínclito infante don Fernando*. We have already mentioned in the Introduction that the valiant Abindarráez, the Abencerrage of that *Corónica*, is a shining example of the sentimental Moor.

Since an examination of the period ending with 1492 has revealed nothing in Spanish literature quite similar to our sentimental type, it is obvious that the reason for its creation and for its immediate popularity is to be sought in the period which now confronts us.

Chapter I has shown that an observer in Granada in the 15th century would see Moors like Abindarráez and Reduán walking the streets of that city, and, we have every reason to believe, being very much the same in external appearance as Abindarráez the Abencerrage. But contemporaneous Spanish authors did not portray him as he was at that time. Why and how did a change of attitude take place?

How the change took place can only be answered by summarizing the literature in which the new type evolved, but we must first consider the possible effects of the fall of Granada on the life of the Moors and on the general relationship between the victors and the vanquished.

The easy terms imposed upon the Moors at the capitulation of Granada are well known.[1] What followed, however, was a different story. The Arabic manuscript translated by Müller[2] relates: "Der König der Christen hatte in dieser Epoche den Moslimen alle Huld und Ehre erwiesen, so dass selbst die Christen gegen sie eifersüchtig wurden und zu ihnen sagten: 'Ihr seid

[1] See Luis de Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos*. B. A. E., Vol. 21, Book 1, Chap. XIX.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 155–7.

jetzt bei unserm Könige hochbegnadigter und geehrter als wir.' Er entledigte sie aller ungesetzlichen Steuern und übte Gerechtigkeit gegen sie aus; diess war aber blosse List und Trug von seiner Seite, um sie zum festen Sitz in Andalusien zu veranlassen und sie von der Emigration abzuhalten."

The following paragraph, also taken from Müller's translation, is especially important in so far as we have every reason to believe in its authenticity, and since it places the subsequent unhappy condition of the Moors in a light much clearer than that cast by Spanish historians on what seems to be a deliberate breach of contract on the part of their early compatriots. This evidence of the reluctance and refusal of the Moors to relinquish their religion, customs, and costumes justifies the assertion that the Moors, as we have described them in Chapter I, persisted almost unchanged during the period between 1492 and 1550:

"Da hörte man auf, die Moslimen zu ehren und man überhäufte sie mit Schmach und Erniedrigung. Die Christen fingen an sie tyrannisch zu behandeln, ihnen all möglichen Steuern aufzulegen und sie mit Taxen su belasten. Der Ruf der Muezzins auf den Minareten wurde untersagt, die Leute aus der Stadt Granada verbannt und in die Vorstädte und Dörfer verwiesen. Sie zogen aus mit Schande und Demüthigung. Hierauf forderte sie der König auf, das Christenthum anzunehmen und zwang sie dazu. Diess geschah im Jahre 904 (1498–99). Durch den Zwang veranlasst traten sie über und ganz Andalusien wurde christlich. Es gab keinen mehr, der das moslimische Bekenntniss, es gibt keine Gottheit als Allâh, Mohammad ist Gesandter Allâhs, aussprach, ausser etwa in seinem Herzen oder in der Abwesenheit von Menschen. In den Minareten wurden Glocken aufgehängt, nachdem früher auf ihnen der Ruf der Muezzins erscholl, und in den Moscheen sah man jetz Bilder und Kreuze, wo früher die Anrufung des Namens Allâhs und die Lesung des Alcorans gehört wurde."

There is nothing which serves our immediate purpose in the works of the other contemporaneous historians, Ocampo, Zurita, or Garibay.

There is one historian in this period, however, Beuter, who supplies us with the welcome statement that the Spaniards

designated all the heterogeneous invaders from Africa by the name "Moors". Therefore, whereas from the point of view of history we have studied some of the different invading races, we need not consider them as being essentially different from the point of view of the Spaniards themselves. The statement of Beuter follows:

"No parecerá cosa fuera de nuestro propósito, si antes de passar adelante en lo que acaeció a los Christianos de España después de la perdición della, nos detenemos algún poco por contar el principio que tuuieron los Moros, y cómo vinieron en tal poder que quiso Dios hazelles verdugos de los peccados desta tierra. Diuersas cosas se escriuen desto por los autores, mas de todos ellos pornemos aquí vn breue epílogo, que aproueche a nuestra historia, y no nos detenga mucho. Propriamente este nombre Moro, es nombre de prouincia, que como dezimos de España Español, assí de Mauritania se dize Mauro, o Moro. Con este entendimiento hauemos notado en los capítulos precedentes los más principales passajes que los Moros, o moradores de Mauritania, que es la parte de Africa que está en frente de España, hizieron en estas partes. Pero como los dichos Mauros, o Moros sean de grandes tiempos acá principales seguidores de Mahoma, dezimos a todos los Mahometanos Moros, y assí se toma este nombre de Moros comunmente por Sarrahines según que Mahoma quiso que se llamassen Sarrahines todos los suyos."[3]

A letter surprisingly similar to the above passage was written in this period by Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo.[4]

We need quote but one more authority at this point in order to make clear the real condition of the Moors for some time after 1492. In so doing we shall avert the popular and natural supposition that the fall of Granada meant the disappearance of Moorish local color.

The Italian humanist and diplomat, Andrea Navagero,[5] who will be remembered for his influence on Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, wrote a letter under the date of May 20, 1526, in which he gives a most interesting description of Moorish life in Granada

[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 165.
[4] B. A. E., V. 13, 2a parte, Epístola XVIII, pp. 222–224.
[5] Andreae Naugeri, *Opera Omnia*, Venetiis, MDCCLIV, pp. 339–340.

at that time. On the authority of a scholarly eyewitness, therefore, we may accept the information of the following paragraph:

"Ancorchè in Granata non vi sia tanta gente, come era, quando era de'Mori, non è però se non popolosissima, e non vi è forse terra in Ispagna, che sia sì frequente. Parlano i Moreschi la lor antica, e natia lingua Moresca, e pochi sono quelli que vogliano imparar lo Spagnuolo. Sono Cristiani mezzo per forza, ma sono sì poco instrutti nelle cose della nostra Fede, e sì poca cura vi si mette, per essere più guadagno de i Preti, che siano così, che d' altra maniera, che nel segreto loro o sono sì Mori come prima, o non credono in fede alcuna. Sono molto inimici degli Spagnuoli, da i quali anche non sono molto ben trattati. Le donne vestono tutte alla Moresca, che è abito molto fantastico: portano le camicie poco più lunghe, che all'ombilico, e poi *sus zaragolles*, che sono brache di tela tinta, attaccate; nelle quali purchè entri un poco la camicia, basta. Le calze dalle brache in giù, o di panno, o di tela che siano, sono tutte rugate, con le sue crespe fatte per lo traverso, di modo che fanno le gambe grossissime. Nel piede non portano pantufole, ma le scarpe piccole, ed assettate. Sopra la camicia si vestono una vesticciula assettata e corta, con le maniche assettate, quasi come una casacca Moresca; il più a divisa di due colori; ed in cima un panno bianco di tela, che le cuopre fino in terra, nel quale s'involgono, e cuoprono sì, che, se non vogliono, non sono conosciute. Il collare della camicia portano comunemente lavorato, e le più nobili lavorato d' oro; il che anche si vede alle volte nel panno bianco, nel quale s'involgono, che vi son di quelle che lo portano intorno di un lavoro d' oro. E nel resto del vestire non meno è differenza da quelle che possono più, cioè dalle ricche, e potenti, alle comuni, cioè plebee, ed artigiane. Ma la maniera dell'abito è tutt' uno. Tutte anche portano i cappelli neri, i quali si tingono con una tinta che non ha molto buon odore: tutte si rompono le poppe, sicchè crescano, e pendano assai, e siano grandi; che questo reputano bello. Tutte si tingono le unghie di alcohol, che è di colore come incarnato. Tutte portano in testa un acconciamento come rotondo, che, quando vi pongono in cima il panno, gli dà la medesima forma. Usano molto i bagni gli uomini, e le donne; ma molto più le donne."

Reserving other historical information for the explanation of specific elements of the Abencerrage story, we may now pass on to the literary works of the time.

The drama which was gradually coming of age during this period generally restricted Moors to comic parts, and that race did not appear in any other rôle than that of the low comic type until about the time of Juan de la Cueva, with the single exception of the *Historia de la gloriosa Santa Orosia* of Bartolomé Palau. The only Moorish character at this time who is worth mention is the astrologer introduced by Lope de Rueda in his *Comedia Armelina.*[6] The Moor is amusing principally because of his poor pronunciation, but he also has a rather important part in the development of the plot.

We are now brought to the main subject of this chapter, the Abencerrage story, the chief character of which has been described in the Introduction. A short résumé of the plot of the Villegas version may not be amiss at this point, in order that we may study its antecedents. Rodrigo de Narváez, Alcalde de Alora and Antequera, sets out from the former city with nine of his best horsemen to seek battle with the Moors in the vicinity. The party comes to a cross-road where it is decided that half should go one way and half the other in order that no prowling Moors should escape. A horn is to be sounded in the event that either party be in danger. The group of five men which does not include Narváez meets the gaily dressed, gentlemanly Abindarráez, the Abencerrage, who approaches singing a Moorish love song. A battle ensues in which, one by one, four Christians are wounded and rendered powerless, and the fifth is disarmed. In answer to the signal, which had been given previously, when it was seen that the Moor was getting the upper hand, Rodrigo de Narváez hastens to the skirmish and soon subdues the now exhausted Moor. The sighs of the captive awaken the curiosity of Narváez whose questions elicit the Moor's story of his love for Jarifa, of their separation, and of his intention that very night to visit her and claim her as his bride.

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[6] W. S. Hendrix, *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama*, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1922, pp. 16, 17; also the review of this study by J. P. W. Crawford in *Modern Philology*, Vol. 23, Nov., 1925, pp. 251–2.

The first detailed scholarly study of this story was made by Menéndez y Pelayo,[7] and although it is evident that he was unacquainted with one of the important versions, his conclusions concerning the material at hand serve as an excellent point of departure for further investigations.

Menéndez y Pelayo begins with a discussion of the two versions known to him, and remarks that they are almost identical in substance, and that at first sight one seems to be a copy of the other. The shorter, simpler, and preferable is that which appeared in a miscellany of verse and prose, published twice by Antonio de Villegas at Medina del Campo with the title of *Inventario*.[8] The first edition is of 1565 and the second of 1577, but we learn from both of them that the license to print was granted in 1551.

After the month of February, 1561, when Montemayor died in Piedmont, there appeared an edition of the *Diana* of that author, in the fourth book of which some unknown person had interpolated this same story but "escrita con más rétorica y afeada con unas sextinas de pésimo gusto."

The plagiarism was committed shortly after the death of Montemayor in an edition of Valladolid which was begun in the very year 1561 and was finished January 7, 1562, and has persisted in all later editions.

Assuming that the text attributed to Montemayor was based on the *Inventario* version, Menéndez y Pelayo explains that although the *Inventario* was not published until 1565, it had

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[7] *Orígenes*, I, CCCLXXVI ff.

[8] "*Inventario de Antonio de Villegas, dirigido a la Magestad Real del Rey Don Phelippe nuestro Señor . . . En Medina del Campo, impresso por Francisco del Canto. Año de 1565. Con previlegio.* 4°.

"*Inventario de Antonio de Villegas. Va agora añadido un breve retrato del Excelentissimo Duque de Alna. Impresso en Medina del Campo por Francisco del Canto: 1577.*

"Amplios extractos de este libro, y entre ellos la novela del Abencerraje, reproducida con entera sujeción a la ortografía y puntuación del original, se hallan en el libro de D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, Madrid, 1895, pp. 199–218." Menéndez y Pelayo, *loc. cit.*

The *Inventario* is mentioned in Gallardo's *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1863, Vol. IV, p. 1065.

The novel *El Abencerrage* was also included in Vol. III of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, and has recently been reprinted by G. Le Strange, Cambridge University Press,1924.

nevertheless been licensed since 1551, and that it had doubtless circulated in manuscript since the latter date. But why did Antonio de Villegas not object to the plagiarism? Menéndez y Pelayo's answer is that since Villegas was incapable of writing such beautiful prose he must have followed some earlier version and, therefore, had no right to object.

"Ante todo le creo incapaz de escribirle. Hay en el *Inventario* algunos versos cortos agradables, en la antigua manera de coplas castellanas; pero la prosa de una novelita pastoril que allí mismo se lee, con el título de *Ausencia y soledad de amor*, forma perfecto contraste, por lo alambicada, conceptuosa y declamatoria, con el terso y llano decir, con la sencillez, casi sublime de la historia de los amores de Jarifa. Es humanamente imposible que el que escribío la primera pueda ser autor de la segunda. Villegas es tan plagiario como el refundidor de la versión impresa con la *Diana.*"

The author of the above lines next mentions the third version which he knew only from the brief description of Gallardo. This version has since appeared in the *Bulletin Hispanique.*[9] Its full title is as follows:

Parte de la Corónica del ínclito infante don Fernando que ganó a Antequera. En la qual trata como se casaron a hurto el Abendaraxe Abindarráez, con la linda Xarifa; hija del Alcayde de Coyn, y dela gentileza y liberalidad que con ellos usó el noble cauallero Rodrigo de Narbáez Alcayde de Antequera y Álora, y ellos con él.

The *Parte de la Corónica* which comes down to us without indications of the time or place of its printing, is found in a single copy in the library of the Duke of Medinaceli bound with a copy of the *Diana* of the Cuenca edition by Juan de Canova, 1561. It is dedicated "Al muy noble y muy magnifico señor el señor Hieronymo Ximenez Dembun, señor de Barboles y Huytura mi señor," and some of the information which follows is to the effect that the story which is therewith presented is an adaptation and revision of a still earlier version which had already achieved popularity.

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[9] H. Mérimée, *Une Édition mal connue et incomplète de l' Histoire de l' Abencerraje*, Bulletin Hispanique, Tome XXV, 1923.

Before we consider the question of priority and influence of the three versions, we shall mention one other book which is known by the title of *El moro Abindarráez y la bella Xarifa*, a *novela* published in Toledo by Miguel Ferrer in the year 1562,[10] which is mentioned only on the authority of Gallardo.

We are concerned then with three prose versions, and our present problem is to study their relationship.

That the *Parte de la Corónica* is really a copy of a version "que andaua oculta y estaua inculta" seems quite probable when we notice its confused description in several instances. Especially when describing the gradual defeat of the five Christians by the angry lover, we notice a certain vagueness which suggests immediately that it is a résumé of an even more vague description.

The story formerly attributed to Villegas goes one step farther toward clarity and simplicity. A parallel study of the Villegas and *Corónica* variants shows that nowhere does the former contain elements of any importance which are not found in the latter; while at the same time it often summarizes or avoids completely the lengthy or obscure passages which mar the *Corónica* and which justify our conclusion in the previous paragraph that the *Corónica* is itself an adaptation.

A comparison of the texts of the *Inventario* and *Diana* versions has been made by Henri Mérimée,[11] who accepts the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo (made without a first-hand knowledge of the *Corónica*) that the latter version is based on the former. If we include the *Corónica* in our parallel investigation, however, we are enabled to see that the above conclusion is not wholly true.

In the first place, of course, there is much in the *Diana* version which is not found in the *Inventario* or *Corónica* versions, which simply shows, as Henri Mérimée points out, that the unknown plagiarist for the 1561–1562 *Diana* edition was a person of poor literary taste.

A tabulation of every difference between the *Corónica* and

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[10] Gallardo, *op. cit.*, I, 357.

[11] *El Abencerraje d' après l'Inventario et la Diana*, *Bulletin Hispanique*, *1919*, Tome XXI, pp. 143–166.

Inventario versions has been used as a basis for this part of our study. A reading of the *Diana* version with such a tabulation at hand shows that the *Diana* is based upon both of the other texts, and that it follows the *Inventario* once to every eight or ten times that it follows the former.

In the Villegas version there is an interpolated story which presents a problem of its own, and which at the same time is of some help in an attempt to clear up more accurately the relationship of all the versions.

According to the Villegas version, Abindarráez with his bride, sets out to fulfill the promise of surrender made by him to his captor. As the couple proceed on their way, they meet an old man who assures them of the nobility and generosity of Rodrigo de Narváez by telling them of an event in the life of the famous Rodrigo which is illustrative of those two virtues.

The *Diana* version does not contain this story, and the fragment of the *Corónica* that we possess does not reach the point in the narrative where the interpolation would logically be made if it were to be made at all.

J. P. Wickersham Crawford[12] has studied the matter of the interpolated story and has found that "este episodio, que parece formar parte íntegra de la historia de Abindarráez y Xarifa, no puede atribuírse a Rodrigo de Narváez, personaje histórico mencionado por Hernando del Pulgar en sus *Claros varones de Castilla*, porque los mismos rasgos se presentan en varias obras anteriores."

The earlier works mentioned are: "De Rollone et eius uxore" in the "De Nugis Curialium" by Walter Map, of the last years of the twelfth century; the first of the fifty *novelle* of *Il Pecorone* composed by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino,[13] and the twenty-first *novella* of the well-known collection of Masuccio Salernitano, published for the first time in the year 1476 with the title of "Il Novellino."

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[12] *Un episodio de "El Abencerraje" y una "novella" de Ser Giovanni, Revista de Filología Española*, Tomo X, 1923.

[13] For the influence of this story on Longfellow see Emilio Goggio, *Italian Influences on Longfellow's Works, The Romanic Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 208–222. Professor Goggio shows that *Galgano* which appeared for the first time in the May number of *Putnam's Magazine* for the year 1853, is an imitation of the first *novella* of the first *giornata* of Giovanni Fiorentino's *Pecorone*, with but a few variations.

Professor Crawford shows that it was very probably the *novella* of Ser Giovanni which was the direct source of the Spanish version, and he points out that *Il Pecorone* begun in 1378, and ended between 1385 and 1397, was published for the first time in Milan in 1558. From this data and from what is known concerning the *Inventario*, he draws the following important conclusion:

"Si queda demostrado que la versión española (in the *Inventario*) deriva de *Il Pecorone*, no es posible que el manuscrito de *El Abencerraje*, en su forma actual, estuviese dispuesto para la imprenta en 1551, como declara Villegas al solicitar otro privilegio en 1565,[14] porque *Il Pecorone* fué publicado por vez primera en 1558. Lo que sí puede ser es que este episodio, libremente traducido de *Il Pecorone*, fuese intercalado en el manuscrito de *El Abencerraje* después de 1551."

One is inclined to believe that the last statement of the above quotation is very near the truth. The author of the *Diana* version copied both the *Corónica* and the *Inventario,* and since he was obviously doing his best to lengthen the story, it is our belief that he would have appropriated the interpolated story enthusiastically. Our conclusion is, therefore, that between 1551 and 1558 the author of the *Diana* version made use of the *Inventario* while in manuscript form.

To how great an extent is the Abencerrage story founded on history? In the first place the historical reality of the Abencerrages and of their troubles in Granada is without question.[15] It will be seen from a consultation of the sources indicated that the beheading of those Moorish warriors was caused by Muley

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[14] Fitzmaurice Kelly and E. Mérimée in their histories of Spanish literature give the date of Villegas' death as 1551. From what is known of copyright laws in sixteenth century Spain, Professor G. I. Dale has drawn the following conclusion:

"It seems quite certain, therefore, that Antonio de Villegas did not die in 1551, that he was still alive in July, 1574, when a privilege was granted to him, and that he most probably was alive in October, 1576, the date of the supplementary privilege appearing in the second edition of the *Inventario*, which was published the following year." See *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXVI, 1921, pp. 334–337.

[15] See Al-Makkari, I, 315; II, 26; and II, 370. Hernando de Baeza (in Müller), pp. 65, 66. Garibay, IV, 323, 411, 417, 418, 420, 422, and 425. Pulgar, pp. 194, 283, 348. Mariana, *B. A. E.*, V. 31, p. 96.

Hazen for vicious political reasons. As for Rodrigo de Narváez, it has long been known that he is mentioned by Ferrant Mexía and Pulgar. He is also often mentioned in the *Crónica de Juan II.*[16]

From the beginning of that chronicle (1407) to the year 1414 when he is last mentioned (a propos of his appearance at the coronation of King Fernando of Aragon), Rodrigo de Narváez's name occurs fourteen times in connection with his fighting before Antequera, and thereafter as *alcayde* of that city. He is described thus:

"—y el Infante puso por alcayde en el castillo e la villa a Rodrigo de Narbáez, su doncel, que había criado desde niño en su cámara, y era caballero mancebo esforzado, e de buen seso e buenas costumbres, y era hijo de Fernán Ruiz de Narbáez, que fué buen caballero y sobrino del Obispo de Jáen; e mandóle que tuviese en la fortaleza veinte hombres darmas tales quales él entendiese que convenía para la guerra e guarda."[17]

We have said that the sentimental Moor developed in the ballads and lyric poetry in general. Our main purpose is to show in the ballads a gradual rise to the plane of the *Abencerrage* and the *Guerras civiles de Granada.* But, however much this may be our desire, we have considered it preferable to use in our ascending scale only those poems which we may be reasonably sure appeared in the period of time under consideration. It is obvious then, that our material, thus limited, will offer a less convincing argument than would be possible if we knew the actual date of every poem preserved.

As for the presentation of the ballads of Moors, we shall arrange them as far as possible with relation to their progression toward the type found in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* of which we have quoted an example in the introduction. The ballads which are included in this part of the chapter are those which appeared in the period of time studied here, and which may be regarded as remote or immediate antecedents of the Abencerrage story.

In this period there are to be found, of course, a few ballads

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[16] *B. A. E.*, Vol. 68.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

dealing with French epic material in which the Moors are the more or less fantastic creatures which were used and developed by Ariosto. Since some space is to be given to a discussion of the Moors of French and Italian literary origin, a propos of their influence on the Spanish conception of the Moor—a theory presented by W. W. Comfort—we shall reserve such ballads for Chapter III where, with the help of later material, a clearer argument may be offered.

The following, then, are the typical and significant ballads of this period, with an outline of their content:

Compañero, compañero,
Casóse mi linda amiga,—[18]

A Christian, disappointed in love, decides to become a Moor and kill Christians.

Yo m'era mora Moraina,
Morilla de un bel catar:[19]

Moraina is tricked into admitting into her house a Christian who poses as a Moor. It is the Moorish woman who tells the story of her deception.

Moriana en un castillo
Juega con el moro Galvane;—[20]

Moriana, a Christian, discloses to her Moorish captor, Galvan, her love for her real husband. The Moor has her beheaded.

Málaga está muy estrecha
En gran quebranto y fatiga,—[21]

As Malaga is being besieged and is in distress, the Alfaqui Alhariz begs the Zegries and Gomeles to allow him to surrender, saying:

Di,¿qué esperanza te queda,
Pues tienes tal rebeldía?
Granada perdió su fuerza,

[18] Anonymous; *Cancionero de Romances; B. A. E.*, Durán, Vol. I, No. 301.
[19] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, I, 3.
[20] Anon., Manuscript of 16th century, but poem anterior to the 15th century according to Durán. Durán, I, 7.
[21] Anon., Fuentes, *Libro de los cuarenta cantos.* Durán, II, 1077.

Su gente no es cual solía,
Los capitanes su orgullo,
Porque rey les fallecía.
Deja vanas esperanzas
Que poco al caso hacían.

The Zegries refuse. A *moro santo* from the city allows himself to be captured, and on being brought to the Christian camp, attempts to kill the Marqués de Moya, *el ilustre portugués*. The Moor is taken and killed.

De Granada parte el moro
Que Aliatar se llamaba,—[22]

Aliatar, in order to avenge the death of his cousin Albayaldos, challenges the Maestre de Calatrava. Sorrow and anger cause the Moor to use invectives:

Diciendo:—¡Perro cristiano,
Yo te prenderé la barba!—

while

El Maestre entre sí mismo
A Cristo se encomendaba—

The Moor's head is presented to the king.

¡ Arriba, canes, arriba!
¡Que mala rabia os mate!—[23]

Galván is madly seeking his love, Moriana. As he rushes about cursing the Moors and calling the name of his lady, she, hidden from sight, is in the arms of her Moorish captor whose face is wet with her tears.

Tan claro hace la luna
Como el sol a mediodia,—[24]

Valdovinos, who has had a "morica" as his friend for seven years, is conscience-stricken on realizing that he has been eating meat on Friday and has been leading a generally bad life. The

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[22] Anon., Pliego suelto; Durán, II, 1108.
[23] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, I, 8.
[24] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances; Antología de poetas líricos castellanos,* Madrid, 1890, Vol. 9, p. 55. This book will be designated hereafter as *A. P. L. C.*

woman comforts him by saying that for his sake she will become a Christian.

Apretada está Valencia,
Puédese mal defensar,—[25]

An old Moor mounts to the top of a high tower in Valencia, describes the beauties of that city and predicts its surrender.

Ya cabalga Calainos
A la sombra de una oliva,—[26]

The Moor Calainos attempts to win the hand of the Moorish princess, Sebilla, by fighting with the peers of France. The sentimentality of Calainos and the general attitude of the lovers are not extremely different from those same elements in the *Abencerrage*.

"Por las sierras de Moncayo
Vi venir un renegado:—"[27]

Bobalias, the renegade, has been seven times a Moor and seven times a bad Christian. The eighth time he accepts the faith of Mahomet. He is nevertheless described as a very fine Moor. His tent and that of his fellow warriors indicate the height of Moorish splendor.

Por el reino de Granada
El rey Don Fernando ha entrado—[28]

The valiant Gomeres, Moors in the pay of the King of Granada, bring help to Coín which is besieged by Don Enriquez, Adelantado of Andalusia. Coín is thus kept from the Christians for many more years.

Jugando estaba el rey moro
En un ajedrez un día,—[29]

Fajardo, the alcalde of Loja, gambles his city against Almeria of the Moorish king. Fajardo loses but tells his companion that

[25] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, I, 836.
[26] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances; A. P. L. C.*, Vol. 9, p. 149.
[27] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, I, 2.
[28] Anon., Fuentes; Durán, II, 1072.
[29] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, II, 1056.

the Christian warriors of Loja would not consent to give up their city. The Moorish king answers:

"No jugemos más, Fajardo,
Ni tengamos más porfía,
Que sois tan buen caballero,
Que todo el mundo os temía."

La mañana de Sant Joan[30]
Al punto que alboreaba,—

The Moors of Granada are having a tourney in all their splendor and luxury, when an old Moor, covered with blood, arrives on the scene and announces the taking of Antequera by Don Fernando. The Moors in revenge make a sally toward Alcalá, destroy Christian property, defeat a band of Christian horsemen and return to Granada.

Junto al vado de Genil,[31]
Por un camino seguido—

A Moorish horseman, soiled with blood and dust, rushes into Granada announcing that the Rey Chico has been captured. The grief of the people of Granada is described in a passage which is strikingly similar to the lines of the Abencerrage story in which Abindarráez recalls the sorrow in that same city when his ancestors were beheaded. The passage is as follows:

Lloraba toda Granada
Con grande llanto y gemido;
Lloraban mozos y viejos
Con algazara y ruido;
Lloraban todas las moras
Un llanto muy dolorido;
Mesan sus cabellos negros,
Desgarrando sus vestidos,
Arañan sus blancas caras
Y sus rostros tan lucidos:
Unas lloran hijos, padres;
Otras hermano ó marido;
Lloran tanto caballero
Como allá se hubo perdido;
Lloraban por su buen rey
Tan amado y tan querido.—

[30] Anon., Pliego suelto; Durán, II, 1045.
[31] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, II, 1069.

The *Inventario* version, following its method of curtailment, is slightly less drawn out in this description than the *Corónica* version, so we shall quote the latter:

"Pues lleuando los a justiciar era muy grande lastima ver los llantos que por ellos se hazian; y las lagrimas que se vertian por toda la ciudad. Bien assi como si por todas partes se abrasara: o de enemigos se entrara. . . Desque la gente se vio sin esperança de sus vidas, començo de nueuo a entristecerse y llorar los. Llorauan los padres que los engendraron, y las madres que los parieron. Llorauan los sus parientes, y amigos. Llorauan los enfin las damas a quien seruian. Y toda la gente comun lleuantaua vn grande y contino alarido. De manera, que si a precio de lagrimas vuieran de comprar sus vidas, nunca murieran los abençarrages tan miserable muerte como murieron."

Emperatrices y reinas
Cuantas en el mundo había,—[32]

The lamentations of the Queen of Naples also remind us of the sorrow in Granada. In this ballad the verb "llorar" occurs thirteen times in only thirty verses.

De Antequera partió el moro
tres horas antes del día,—[33]

In this ballad the Moorish Alcaide de Antequera seeks help from the King of Granada for the defense of his city which is besieged and finally conquered by the Infante Don Fernando.

We come now to those literary works which are based on the Abencerrage story, and, although they naturally first appeared in the period of time studied in the next chapter and still later, it is thought best to mention them here. It is very difficult to determine which of the three prose versions of the Abencerrage story is the source of a given romance, especially in the case of the *Corónica* and the *Inventario* which are so similar, and therefore our decision must be based on the coincidence of only three or four variants at the most.

[32] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, II, 1249.
[33] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Durán, II, 1043.

Several points of similarity make us reasonably sure that Juan de Timoneda[34] used the *Corónica*.

An interesting question arises at this point. In the *Corónica*, the *Inventario*, and in the ballad of Timoneda, the words *Troco*, *Trocho*, and *Tronco* are respectively used to designate someone or something that Abindarráez would like to be in order to enjoy better the presence of his lady. The statement of the young lover as it appears in the Villegas version is as follows:

"Acuérdome que entrando una siesta en la huerta, que dicen de los jazmines, la hallé sentada junto a la fuente, componiendo su hermosa cabeza. Miréla vencido de su hermosura, y parecióme a Salmacis; y dije entre mí: Oh, quien fuera Trocho para parecer ante esta hermosa dama."

The lines from Timoneda are:

Vila una vez en la fuente
Que en nuestro jardín corría,
Peinándose los cabellos
Como oro de Alejandría;
A la hermosa Salmacía
En belleza parecía.
Díjela: ...¡ Quien fuera tronco
Para estar junto a esta ninfa,
Sin quitarme jamas d'ella
Ni de noche ni de día.! . . .

So far as can be ascertained, the classical dictionaries contain no reference to the word Trochus, or any word similar to it. Salmacis apparently refers to the nymph whose encounter with Hermaphroditus is related in the fourth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, but in that story no one of the name Trochus appears.

Our conclusion, suggested by J. P. W. Crawford, would be that the word *tronco* used by Timoneda is the correct one since Abindarráez might very logically wish to be the trunk of a tree in which his wood nymph might live in order to bring about the desired proximity. Trocho and Troco are, therefore, misreadings which have persisted unquestioned.

The three ballads of Lucas Rodriguez[35] point to the *Diana* as their source.

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[34] Durán, II, 1094.
[35] Durán, II, 1089, 1090, 1092.

In addition to the five ballads of Pedro de Padilla[36] which resemble the *Diana* version, two others by the same author are reminiscent of the same theme. The one beginning:

Seis años tuvo a Coymbra[37]
Cercado el Rey d. Fernando

depicts the Cid as playing the part of the generous captor, caring for the wounds of his victim, and responding favorably to the Moor's request

"—un solo bien te demando
que me dexes ver primero
la que en el mundo más amo,"—.

The other romance which begins

Un lunes por la mañana,[38]
quando amanecer queria,

which deals with the valiant fight of the Moorish governor of Antequera against great odds, and his capture, also resembles the Abencerrage story.

The anonymous, undated ballad beginning

Ya llegaba Abindarráez[39]
A vista de la muralla

is too vague to be definitely classified.

Before we dismiss the Abencerrage ballads, we are led to indicate a possibility which has suggested itself in the course of this study with reference to the development of ballads from the prose versions.

Among the ballads classed by Durán as pertaining to Abindarráez *el Tío*, there is one:

Celoso y enamorado[40]
Rompe los aires con quejas

which might just as well pertain to *el Sobrino*. The woman is named Jarifa, and her lover is extremely jealous of her. The refrain "Rabiosos celos. . . ," occurring five times, immediately recalls the prose description of that same emotion in Abindarráez.

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[36] *Romancero de Pedro de Padilla*, publícalo la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1880, pp. 220–241.
[37] Padilla, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[38] Padilla, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
[39] Durán, II, 1093.
[40] Durán, I, 78.

In the ballad beginning

Fátima y Abindarráez,[41]
Los dos extremos del reino,

Abindarráez is in love with Jarifa, he is captain of Álora, and he is longing for her who is far away.

Might it not be that these two poems, which are reminiscent of the prose story but which are sufficiently vague to suggest other plots, are precisely the ones which mark the transition from the so-called *romances de Abindarráez el Sobrino* to those of *Abindarárez el Tío*, and even to the *romances de moriscos* in general? The idea is at least a tempting one, since the first prose version of the Abencerrage story, dealing with Abindarráez el Sobrino, antedates the *romances moriscos;* and we have shown that *romances* were based on that story, that there are *romances* which might refer to either *el Sobrino* or *el Tío*, and that there are *romances* which can only refer to *el Tìo*.

One narrative and one statement in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* show traces of the Abencerrage story but we shall reserve a discussion of them for the next chapter.

The importance of the Abencerrage theme in Spanish literature is shown by the fact that it has also been drawn into the drama.

El Remedio en la desdicha[42] of Lope de Vega may be briefly outlined as follows:

The important characters are Abindarráez; Jarifa; Zoraide, the father of Jarifa; Narváez; Arráez, a Moor; Alara, the wife of Arráez; and Nuño, the companion of Narváez.

Abindarráez and Jarifa are presented in the happy condition of brother and sister, but the young man is beginning to doubt that relationship. A messenger, Alborán, arrives with the good news that Don Fernando has stopped fighting and peace is assured for some time. Rather crudely, from the point of view of dramatic technique, Alborán informs Abindarráez that he, Abindarráez, is not the brother of Jarifa, and the familiar Abencerrage story is thereafter developed in a very skillful dramatic manner. The gentlemanly qualities of Rodrigo de Narvàez,

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[41] Durán, I, 79.

[42] *Obras de Lope de Vega, publicadas por la Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1900, Tomo XI.

however, form an important secondary plot throughout the *comedia*.

Narváez is in love with a beautiful married Moorish woman of Coín. He calls the recently captured Moor, Arráez, to write a love letter in Arabic which is taken to the Moorish woman by Nuño who can speak Arabic and who dresses like a Moor in order to enter the enemy city. Narváez generously frees Arráez who describes the overwhelming jealousy which he feels concerning his wife, although neither he nor Narváez yet know that the woman in question is that same wife, Alara. She, on receiving the letter, recognizes her husband's handwriting, and hastens to ransom him. Narváez is sorry after he finds out who the woman is, and sends her back, although she in the meantime has fallen in love with him and leaves him reluctantly, saying

¡Que me desprecies ansí!
¡Oh riguroso cristiano!

Arráez misinterprets the whole situation and returns to kill Narváez. He is quieted and is sent home after he has promised not to maltreat his wife. He does not keep his promise, and is about to kill the pleading woman when Narváez and Nuño (having been informed by the messenger, Ardino) arrive in time to save her. In answer to Narváez's question

¿Por qué tan humilde quieres
Ofender tus altos nombres?

the Moor answers

Porque todos somos hombres
Hablando con las mujeres.

To avoid a re-occurrence of the wife-beating, Narváez takes the husband away, leaving the woman to complain against her

Mal galán y peor marido.

That Lope de Vega knew the *Inventario* version with its interpolated story is obvious, since he uses the account of Narváez's generosity, but his text is consistently that of the *Diana*.

The *romance* which he inserts in *La Dorotea*[43] can not on its own evidence be ascribed with certainty to any particular source, but we may reasonably assume that the *Diana* was the one he knew best.

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[43] "Cautivo el Abindarraez
Del alcaide de Antequera," Durán, I, 1091.

Chapter III

From About 1550 to About 1600

In our historical discussions of the Moor and his customs we have seen that even after the fall of Granada he maintained the habits and the external appearances of olden days to such an extent that Abindarráez of the stories might well have been an historical personage. But we shall see that shortly after the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, the Moors were forced to adapt themselves to Spanish civilization and gradually began to lose their individuality.

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza tells us of the reforms imposed on the Moors by Philip II in 1567:

". . . El Rey les mandó dejar la habla morisca, y con ella el comercio y comunicación entre sí; quitóseles el servicio de los esclavos negros, a quienes criaban con esperanzas de hijo, el hábito morisco, en que tenían empleado gran caudal; obligáronlos a vestir castellano con mucha costa, que las mujeres trujesen los rostros descubiertos, que las casas, acostumbradas a estar cerradas, estuviesen abiertas: lo uno y lo otro tan grave de sufrir entre gente celosa. Hubo fama que les mandaban tomar los hijos y pasallos a Castilla; vedáronles el uso de los baños, que eran su limpieza y entretenimiento; primero les habían prohibido la música, cantares, fiestas, bodas conforme a su costumbre, y cualesquier juntas de pasatiempo."[1]

By these reforms, which we know were eventually carried out, we may see that Moorish customs had persisted until 1567, and even later, since it is not reasonable to assume that such sweeping changes could be made in one year or in ten.

By 1595, when the first part of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* appeared, the local color of that book was fifty years old or less, but, we may now reasonably assume, it was not without historical foundation. And in many details the local color was not even out of date.

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[1] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, *B. A. E.*, V. 21, p. 71.

We cannot help but feel that there is much truth in the footnote of Durán to the first ballad in his *Sección de romances moriscos satíricos y burlescos:*

"En esta sección se trata de ridiculizar la excesiva manía de formar cuadros de costumbres moras, olvidándose de la severidad de la vieja poesía castellana. ¡Vanos esfuerzos! Nuestra poesía y nuestros hábitos, convertidos en segunda naturaleza, habían tomado ya un giro oriental que no han podido olvidar nunca, y de que aun en el día participan. Los romances moriscos serán siempre una prueba de las más inmediatas de aquella parte de la civilización árabe que inoculada con la nuestra constituyó la poesía española, y del carácter especial que en el siglo XVI empezó a tomar, y siguió después."[2]

The period studied in this chapter marks the height of the "morisco" fad in Spanish literature. It was this period which produced the imitations of the Abencerrage story, the *romances de moriscos* and the *Guerras civiles de Granada.*

As for the Moors in Spanish literature before the *Guerras civiles de Granada* and in works other than those mentioned above, it is found that they occurred very rarely with a prominence which would warrant their being mentioned. In the *Selva de aventuras* of Contreras, 1565, there is an interpolated story which carries on the idea of Moorish-Christian friendship and generosity. The following paragraph will give an idea of the contents of the story and the spirit that inspires it:

"Pues viendo Calimán cumplido su deseo, que había sido la causa Luzmán, como buen caballero y hombre agradecido quísole pagar sus servicios; y así un día haciéndole llamar, le dijo: 'desde aquel día que me dijiste la causa de tu tristeza, y cómo, por la crueldad de aquella a quien amabas, habías dejado tu tierra, hube de ti gran compasión; pues habiendo después de ti recebido tan aceptos servicios, los cuales han sido parte para que yo mereciese alcanzar el bien que tengo, sin el cual ya fuera muerto, he acordado de te galardonar lo que te debo; y no puedo hacer más por ti que darte aquello que es más dulce y más amado y deseado que la vida, y esta es la libertad, la cual

[2] *B. A. E.*, Vol. 10, p. 129.

no sólo buscan los hombres, mas los animales; y así desde agora te puedes tener por libre y hacer de ti a tu voluntad, y irte cuando te pluguiere, que yo haré que seguramente te lleven hasta te poner en España, y toma de mi haber lo que menester hubieres; y ruégote que no me olvides, a lo menos en avisarme de cómo te va, que recebiré en ello gran contento.' Luzmán que entendió las palabras de Calimán, y cómo le hacía libre, en su corazón dió gracias a Dios, y respondióle diciendo: 'por cierto, señor, nunca miré tu rostro, ni consideré tu virtud con menos ojos de aquellos que agora veo la gran nobleza que conmigo usas; y así siempre me ternás en la cuenta de tu captivo, pues yo no podré olvidar la honra que me has hecho; no cómo señor, mas como si fuera tu hermano; y así te suplico tengas por bien que luego me pueda partir a ver aquellos que me engendraron, y a ver si son vivos.' Calimán le abrazó, y luego dió orden para que le llevasen en una fusta y le pusiesen a la costa de Málaga."[3]

In the drama, the Moors continue to play their parts as comic characters with very few exceptions. In the plays of Lope de Rueda they sometimes have a really dramatic reason for appearing on the stage, as we have already mentioned, but they persist as comic characters in *Las cortes de la Muerte* (1557) of Micael de Carvajal and Hurtado de Toledo, and in the *Paso de un soldado y un moro y un hermitaño* by Juan de Timoneda (1564).

They are again presented in one of their traditional rôles, as sorcerers, in the *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*, by Juan de la Cueva (1579), but by 1582(?) in *Los Tratos de Árgel* by Cervantes we begin to see them treated as human beings, capable of feeling and exciting deep emotion and sympathy.

Turning now to the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Menéndez y Pelayo gives the following paragraph as an introduction to his study of that book:

"Lo que había hecho en lindísima miniatura el autor, quien quiera que fuese, del *Abencerraje*, lo ejecutó en un cuadro mucho más vasto el murciano Ginés Pérez de Hita en su célebre libro de las *Guerras civiles de Granada*, cuya primera parte, que es la que aquí mayormente nos interesa, fué impresa en Zaragoza,

[3] *B. A. E.*, Vol. 3, p. 503.

en 1595. . . La segunda parte, concerniente a la rebelión de los moriscos en tiempo de Felipe II, es historia anovelada, y en parte, memorias de las campañas de su autor; obra verídica en el fondo, como se reconoce por la comparación con las legítimas fuentes históricas, con Mármol y Mendoza. Pero la primera parte, única que hizo fortuna en el mundo (aunque la segunda, por méritos distintos, también lo mereciese), es obra de otro carácter: es una novela histórica, y seguramente la primera de su género que fué leída y admirada en toda Europa, abriendo a la imaginación un nuevo mundo de ficciones."[4]

We have already commented on the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo that the type of hero in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* is romantically idealistic. His deductions concerning many of the problems involved in a study of the historical antecedents of this book are most important, however. Yet before we approach that branch of our study we had best consider the *milieu* of the sentimental Reduán described in the Introduction.

An excellent, appreciative summary of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* is included in the edition of that work by Paula Blanchard-Demouge whose conclusions, together with those of Menéndez y Pelayo, will form the basis of our discussion in this chapter. That summary of a book so difficult to summarize without being over dull or over romantic is as follows:

"La historia que compuso Pérez de Hita se refiere a la caída de Granada, vista por dentro en medio de las querellas y discordias de los moros entre sí, más bien que superficialmente, según es uso y costumbre considerarla. Comienza su trabajo intentando buscar una base sólida en el origen e historia del reino de Granada. Esta parte de su trabajo, un poco seria y árida, prueba las nociones imperfectas que se tenían en su tiempo sobre lo que podía ser una novela histórica. Inserta al principio la cronología de los Reyes de Granada, el nombre de las ciudades de su jurisdicción y el de las familias más distinguidas del Estado; describe los palacios, jardines, mezquitas y las obras más suntuosas de la capital. La acción empieza en el reinado de Boabdil, último soberano, y a medida que avanza entrando en el objecto principal

[4] *Orígenes*, I, p. CCCLXXX.

que se ha propuesto, el tono cambia. Aun estamos rodeados de personajes que nos son familiares; el gran Maestre de Calatrava o el heroico Muza; Boabdil, último vástago de la larga dinastía de los Reyes moros, que hace guerra cruel a su propio padre en medio de su capital, en tanto que los Reyes Católicos y sus caballeros en el exterior devastan el reino. A estas figuras históricas se añaden otras fabulosas: Reduán, Abenámar, Gazul, con tanta grandeza caballeresca como los caballeros cristianos; los retratos de Zaida, Fátima, tan seductoras, tan hermosas, como las damas conducidas a Santa Fe para divertirlo durante la conquista. En esta mezcla de las creaciones de su imaginación con los hechos históricos, Ginés Pérez de Hita patentiza una habilidad excepcional para dar a todo sabor de época. Extiende ante nosotros un lujurioso imperio vacilante amenazado de cercana ruina; mientras en las calles de la capital resuenan los gritos de guerra y se inundan de sangre, los príncipes y la nobleza no interrumpen sus alegres festines, ni sus orgías cuotidianas; las bodas, las fiestas, las danzas nocturnas en la Alhambra, los torneos espléndidos de los juegos en presencia de la Corte, alternan con las querellas y los combates entre las dos grandes y poderosas familias que destruyen el Estado, y las escaramuzas y los combates contra los cristianos, que avanzan. Siguen la cruel acusación de la Sultana, su defensa armada por los paladines moros y cristianos, el horrible asesinato de su hermana Moraima por Boabdil, que despliega súbitamente toda la violencia celosa de un déspota oriental. El triste y escandaloso espectáculo de tres Reyes disputándose todos los días el trono en las plazas públicas, en los palacios de una ciudad destinada a caer algunas semanas después entre las manos del enemigo que rodea ya sus murallas. Hay sin duda en ello mucha ficción, sobre todo en los detalles, pero no es fantástico lo que se refiere a lo interno de los acontecimientos reales sobre los cuales se basa. De esta manera, cuando nos acercamos al fin de la novela recorremos sin dificultad un campo histórico tan vasto como el del comienzo, tan romántico como las descripciones de las discordias o fiestas que acabamos de leer.

Cuando la cautividad temporal de Boabdil y su cobarde sumisión; el sitio, seguido de la rendición, de Alhama, y la

caída de Granada, se presentan ante nosotros, no es de una manera inesperada y en desacuerdo con los acontecimientos que las preceden, sino naturalmente. La historia termina con una narración adecuada al tono general, recordándonos el triste destino de D. Alonso de Aguilar."[5]

The first problem which one meets in an investigation of Pérez de Hita's book presents itself on the very title page. The first edition, which is the one edited by Blanchard-Demouge, has as a continuation of its title the words "—agora nvevamente sacado de un libro aráuigo, cuyo autor de vista fué un moro llamado Aben Hamín, natural de Granada."

Throughout his book Pérez de Hita often[6] mentions the *moro coronista* or *coronista moro* as his most important source, but only once does he mention him by name. On that latter occasion we are told something of the alleged origin of the book: ". . . nuestra historia, assí como lo escrivió el Moro Abenhamín, historiador de todos aquellos tiempos, dende la entrada de los Moros en España: porque este Abenhamín tuvo muy solícito cuydado de recoger todos los papeles y escrituras que tratavan estas cosas de Granada, dende su fundación primera y segunda. . . "[7]

This information is completed toward the end of the book where we find the following:

"Este moro coronista, visto ya todo el Reyno de Granada ganado por los Christianos, se passó en África, y se fué a vivir a tierras de Tremecén, llevando todos sus papeles consigo; y allí en Tremecén murió y dexó hijos; y un nieto suyo, de no menos habilidad que el aguelo, llamado Argutaafa, recogió todos los papeles del aguelo, y entre ellos halló este pequeño libro, que no lo estimó en poco, por tratar la materia de Granada; y por grande amistad hizo presente dél a un Judío llamado Rabbí Santo; el qual judío le sacó en hebreo para su contento; y el que estava en Arábigo lo presentó al buen Conde de Baylén, Don Rodrigo Ponze de León. Y por saber bien lo que el libro contenía de la guerra de Granada, porque su padre y aguelo se

[5] *Op. cit.*, part I, pp. XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.
[6] *Op. cit.*, part I, pp. 251, 255, 258, 269, 289, 290, 291.
[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

avían hallado en ella, o su aguelo y visaguelo, le mandó sacar al mismo judío en castellano. Y después el buen Conde me hizo a mí merced de me le dar, no aviéndolo servido."[8]

Blanchard-Demouge takes these statements seriously and proceeds to identify Aben Hamín with the Benahatin mentioned in our previous chapter, and with Ibn Alhatib, author of an Arabic history of Granada so often quoted by later Moorish and Christian historians. She makes this identification without giving specific cases of borrowing by the Spanish author, and she herself mentions a specific episode which Pérez de Hita states he had translated from the Moorish chronicler but which is almost slavishly copied from Pulgar. It is of course impossible to determine definitely whether or not Ibn Alhatib had any direct influence on the *Guerras civiles de Granada* until his works are studied carefully in their original text. At present we can only say that in all the excerpts from the works of Ibn Alhatib found in translation, not a single close similarity of specific ideas or of text with the *Guerras civiles de Granada* could be discovered. Moreover, granted that Pérez de Hita might have picked up enough knowledge of Arabic to converse with the Moriscos, it is highly improbable that he was able to read and understand Ibn Alhatib, who was found difficult to comprehend, even by his Moorish contemporaries. By way of excusing his own uncertainties, Simonet makes the following statement:

"Ebn Jaldún, pues, en la *Mocaddama* o introducción a su Historia universal, hablando del estado floreciente que alcanzó en España el estudio de la lengua árabe, asegura que nuestro Aljathib, el cual pereció desgraciadamente en sus días, víctima de las calumnias de sus enemigos, poseía la facultad de hablar aquella lengua hasta un punto difícil de alcanzar."[9]

Menéndez y Pelayo ridicules Pérez de Hita's story of an Arabic source, and says that this is the very trick which Cervantes parodied in telling us of the manuscripts bought by him in Toledo. But Menéndez y Pelayo bases his disbelief on the assumption that the Moors of the *Guerras civiles* were never

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[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 291.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

historical—an assumption which we have attempted to disprove. It is therefore necessary now to consider those works which can be proved to be sources of Pérez de Hita's book. We may then see more clearly if there are in that book any remaining, unexplained elements.

Blanchard-Demouge has been able to examine the unpublished manuscript of Hita's epic poem entitled *Libro de la población y hazañas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Lorca.* She describes it thus:

"Este poema épico, olvidado ya, es interesante por estar íntimamente relacionado con las guerras de Granada. Es como un bosquejo, y dió sin duda al autor la idea de escribir las *Guerras.* Se trata en él de la lucha contra los moros, pero solamente en la parte que Lorca tomó en la lucha. El plan de la obra, convenientemente ampliado, será el de su historia de Granada; consta de dos partes: la primera, que llega hasta la toma de Granada por los Reyes Católicos, se compone de XVI cantos y 382 octavas; la segunda es la historia de la rebelión y de la represión de los moriscos, en XVI cantos y 463 octavas; es, pues, el mismo plan y la misma idea principal, con el aumento de episodios fabulosos y narraciones de los hechos caballerescos; mezcla hábil de fábula e historia que se encuentra en las *Guerras.* Por último, hay intercalada una novela en el XI canto."[10]

Since practically all the non-local material of the poem is included in the later work of Pérez de Hita, according to Blanchard-Demouge, we may proceed to a consideration of that later work.

In addition to his frequent quotation of *el moro coronista,* the author also states that he has obtained material from Esteban Garibay Zamalloa,[11] from Hernando del Pulgar,[12] and on one occasion he refers to the *Chronica del Rey don Rodrigo.*[13] Garibay's authority is called upon only for the bare facts of history, while Pulgar is credited with some of the more colorful passages. For example, in the chronology of the Moorish kings of Granada,

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[10] *Op. cit.,* p. XVIII.
[11] *Op. cit.,* pp. 3, 37.
[12] *Op. cit.,* pp. 274, 290.
[13] *Op. cit.,* p. 2; "*El christiano coronista*" is quoted on p. 275.

the author chooses for his short descriptive passages the first and last statements made in the long accounts of Garibay. The similarity of the parallel paragraphs has been pointed out by Blanchard-Demouge in the following manner:

Pérez de Hita	Garibay
El primer rey moro que tuvo Granada se llamó Alhamar. Este reynó en ella treinta y seis años y más meses; acabó año de mil y docientos y setenta y tres.	El primer rey moro que tuvo Granada se llamó Alhamar. (Suit l'Histoire du règne d'Alhamar qui se termine par ces mots): aviendo treynta y seis años y más meses que reynava y falleció en Granada, principio del año mil y dozientos y setenta y tres.
El segundo rey de Granada se llamó así como su padre Mahomad Mir. Este obró el castillo del Alhambra muy rico y muy fuerte, como oy se parece. Reynó veynte y nueve años y quatro meses y murió año de mil trecientos y dos.	El segundo Rey de Granada se llamó así como su padre Mahomad Myr. . . (Suit l'histoire de ce règne qui se termine par ces mots): hallándose el rey Mohamad Myr vencedor se acercó la fin de sus días, por que aviendo viente y nueve años y quatro meses que reynava falleció en el mes de Mayo del año mil trezientos y dos.[14]

Passages showing the undeniable influence of Pulgar are also presented by the editor of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* who, however, sums up her opinion of Pérez de Hita's historical sources with statements which are open to question:

"Por consiguiente, la parte histórica de la primera parte de sus *Guerras* se compone de una parte técnica y árida tomada a Garibay o a Aben Aljatib, de una historia interior de Granada, casi desconocida de Garibay y menos conocida aún de Pulgar, y para la cual hay que admitir fuentes árabes, recuerdos o tradiciones escritas, probablemente la *Jhata*.[15] En cuanto a las des-

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. XLI.

[15] *The History of Granada* by Ibn Aljatib. The conclusions of Blanchard-Demouge concerning the influence of Ibn Alhatib do not convince E. Merimée. Cf. his review in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, Tome XVI, 1914, pp. 257–262.

cripciones de las batallas de Alporchones, toma de Antequera, Alhama, sitios de Baeza y de Cuéllar, Hita, siempre respetando la verdad histórica, se coloca en un punto de vista demasiado morisco para que un cronista cristiano haya podido ejercer influencia y proporcionarle otra cosa que nombres, vivos aún en su época y que todo el mundo conocía. Muchos detalles de los últimos capítulos proceden de esos distintos cronistas. Y por último, en las fuentes históricas no han de olvidarse los romances que contribuyeron a la composición de esta parte. Desde el punto de vista histórico sería necesario estudiar a Boabdil el Rey Chico, al cual su imaginación se entretuvo en describir con negras tintas, como un déspota sanguinario y un cobarde a la vez; tipo que quedará como único de un rey más desgraciado que culpable."[16]

We have not reached the point in our study at which we can make fairly definite statements as to the sources of Pérez de Hita's book. It will become more and more evident, however, as we proceed, that Blanchard-Demouge has not paid sufficient attention to the Abencerrage story, the Abencerrage ballads, and those *fronterizo* and *morisco* ballads not actually quoted by Pérez de Hita.

The influence of Pulgar and Garibay, admitted by the author, has been verified. Our next step is to have recourse to the more authentic, contemporaneous historians.

For a trustworthy historic background of events in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* it appears that the most authentic accounts are those given by Hernando de Baeza, the Arabic author translated by Müller, and by Al-Makkari. Luis de Mármol Carvajal is also considered trustworthy by Menéndez y Pelayo, who quotes that historian at length.

It will be seen by a consultation of the authorities mentioned that it was not an uncommon thing for many of the kings of Granada to behead their followers for various important or unimportant reasons. In our study of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* we are concerned especially with the beheading of the Abencerrages, one member of which family we have already

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[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. L–LI.

noticed as a literary type. The probable truth of the matter, on the combined authority of those same historians mentioned above, is that Muley Hacen, the third from the last king of Granada, beheaded seven and later seven more of the Abencerrages with a number of others as a result of a demonstration of disapproval made by those subjects because of the careless, immoral life of their king. The dissenters were moved to action especially because of the favoritism shown by Muley Hacen to a Christian woman who had been captured and who had become the Monarch's favorite wife. There is a passage in the short historical account of Hernando de Baeza which sums up this matter very well, and which is especially interesting to us since it includes a description of the Abencerrage family in words not very different from those found in many of the Abencerrage narratives. The passage from Baeza follows:

"Estando pues este rrey metido en sus vicios, visto el desconcierto de su persona, leuantáronse ciertos caualleros en el rreyno, así criados de la rreyna como de el rrey su padre de ella, y alçaronla obidiencia del rrey, y hiziéronle cruda guerra. Entre los quales fueron ciertos de los que dezían Abençarrajes que quiere dezir los hijos de el sillero. Los quales eran naturales de allende y auían pasado en esta tierra con deseo de morir peleando con los cristianos, y en la verdad ellos eran los mejores caualleros de la gineta y de la lança que se cree que ovo jamás en el rreyno de Granada, y aunque fueron casi los mayores señores del Reyno, no por eso mudaron el apellido de sus padres que eran silleros: porque entre los moros no suelen despreciarse los buenos y nobles, por venir de padres officiales. El rrey pues siguió la guerra contra ellos y prendió y degolló muchos de los caualleros, entre los quales vn día degolló siete de los Abençarrajes, y degollados los mandó poner en el suelo, uno junto con otro, y mandó dar lugar que todos los que quisiesen los entrasen a ver. Con esto puso tanto espanto en la tierra que los que quedauan de los Avençarrages, muchos dellos se pasaron en Castilla, y unos fueron a la casa del duque de Medina Sidonia y otros a la casa de Aguilar, y ay estuuieron haziéndoseles mucha honrra a ellos y a los suyos, hasta que el rrey Chiquito, en cuyo tienpo se ganó Granada, rreinó en ella, que se volvieron a sus casas y haziendas: los otros

que quedaron en el Reino poco a poco prendió el Rey y dizen que de solos los Avencarrajes degolló catorze, y de otros caualleros y hombres esforçados y nombrados por sus personas fueron, según dizen, ciento y veinteiocho."[17]

As a result of conflicting historical accounts and the naturally conflicting traditional accounts, it does not seem strange, then, that Pérez de Hita, with his interest in fiction, attributed the slaughter to the wrong person, and to the wrong motive. In his book the avenging king is Boabdil (Rey Chico) and not Muley Hacen, Boabdil's father; and the motive is the alleged infidelity of the Queen instead of the uxoriousness of the King. This alteration of history, it may be added at this point, is one of the strongest arguments against the opinion held by Blanchard-Demouge that the contemporaneous philosopher and historian, Ibn Aljatib, was really the main source of the *Historia*. That such a well-informed Moor as Ibn Aljatib could be responsible for the fantastic account attributed to him is highly improbable.

Nevertheless we should call attention at this point to a fact which has been overlooked by both Menéndez y Pelayo and Blanchard-Demouge, and which is a proof that Pérez de Hita was also aware of the executions by Muley Hazen.

It will be remembered that after the capture of Rey Chico by King Ferdinand, the government of Granada was in the hands of the Rey Zagal, the uncle of Boabdil and the brother of Muley Hacen. Pérez de Hita attributes the following political speech to Zagal:

"Claros illustres varones de Granada: los que ansí con tanta riguridad me tenéys odio, sin porqué, muy bien sabéys cómo mi sobrino fué alçado por Rey de Granada, sin ser muerto mi hermano y su padre, a pura fuerça, por causa muy ligera: sólo porque degolló quatro cavalleros Abencerrages que lo merecían; y por esto le quitasteys la obediencia y alçasteys a su hijo por Rey, contra toda razón y derecho. Y mi sobrino, aviendo con vuestro favor degollado treynta y seys cavalleros Abencerrages sin culpa alguna, y aviendo levantado un tal testimonio a su muger, Reyna nuestra, por donde tantos escándalos, y muertes,

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 65–66.

y guerras civiles ha avido en la ciudad, le tenéys obediencia y le amáys, sin mirar que no es digno de ser Rey, pues su padre es vivo."[18]

Going back to the possible literary antecedents of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, it will be noticed that we have met with only one work, the theme and atmosphere of which resemble at all closely those same elements in the book of Pérez de Hita. We refer, of course, to the *Abencerrage* story together with its pure and contaminated progeny among the ballads. It would be strange, then, if that book did not have a marked effect on the *Guerras civiles de Granada*. We shall now consider the definite Abercerrage elements which have been found, indicating in parallel excerpts, when possible, the narrative of the *Diana* which seems to be the version in the mind, if not before the eyes, of Pérez de Hita.

". . . y ansí, bolteando su ligero cavallo por el campo, se dexó yr como un pensamiento para donde estava su lança hincada. Y en llegando a la par della se dexó colgar de los arçones con tanta presteza como un ave, la tomó y sacó del suelo donde estava hincada, passando adelante como un viento."[19]

"Los cavalleros Abencerrages andavan a cavallo por la plaça, corriendo los toros con tanta gallardía y gentileza, que era cosa de espanto. No avía dama en todos los balcones ni ventanas que no estuviessen muy afficionadas a los cavalleros Abencerrages. Mas teníase por muy cierto que no avía Abencerrage en Granada, o en su Reyno, que no fuesse favorecido de damas y de las más principales; y ésta era la causa más principal por donde los Zegrís, y Gomeles, y Maças, les tenían mortal odio y embidia; y ansí era la verdad, que no avía dama en Granada que no se preciasse de tener por amante un Bencerrage; y por

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[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 260–261.

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 140. Cf. the *Diana*, in *Orígenes*, Vol. II, p. 307:

—pues auiendo perdido su lança, puso las piernas al cauallo, haziendo muestra de huyr; los dos caualleros lo seguian, y él buelue a passar entrellos como un rayo, y en llegando a donde estaua uno de los tres quél auía derribado, se dexó colgar del cauallo, y tomando la lança se boluio a endereçar con gran ligereza en la silla.

desdichada se tenía y por menos que otra la que no lo tenía, y en esto tenían grande razón, porque jamás huvo Abencerrage que tuviesse mal talle ni mal garbo, y no se halló Bencerrage que covarde fuesse, ni de mala disposición. Eran estos cavalleros todos a una mano muy affables, amigos de la gente común. No se halló jamás que a qualquiera dellos llegase alguno con necessidad que no lo socorriesse y cumpliesse su necessidad. Eran, finalmente, amigos de Christianos: ellos mismos en persona se halla que yvan a las mazmorras a visitar los Christianos cautivos, y les hazían bien, y les embiavan de comer con sus criados. Y a esta causa eran de todo el Reyno bien quistos y muy amados, y sobre todo valientes y buenos ginetes. Jamás en ellos se halló temor, aunque se les offreciessen muy arduos casos. Davan tanto contento allí en la plaça donde andavan, que se llevavan tras sí los ojos de toda la gente y más los de las damas."[20]

"¡Quién os podría contar los llantos que toda Granada hazía por la despedida de los nobles cavalleros Abencerrages, que eran más de cien cavalleros los que se salían! De nuevo lloraron a los que avían sido degollados, de nuevo lloravan los que al presente se salían y desamparavan a Granada. Lloravan los demás cavalleros sus amigos, maldezían las pesadumbres y vandos, maldezían a los Zegrís, que eran causa dellos. . . No faltó quien le dixesse al Rey Chico: '¿Qué es esto, Infante Aboavdilí? ¿Cómo dexas salir de Granada la flor de los cavalleros della? ¿No sabes que todo el común estava colgado de las voluntades destos nobles cavalleros y que todos los demás

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[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 55. Cf. *Diana*, p. 308:

—sabras que uuo en Granada un linaje de caualleros llamados abençerrajes; sus hechos y sus personas ansi en esfuerço para la guerra, como en prudençia para la paz, y gouierno de nuestra republica eran el espejo de aquel reyno. Los uiejos eran del consejo del Rey, los moços exerçitauan sus personas en actos de caualleria siruiendo a las damas y mostrando en sí la gentileza y ualor de sus personas. Eran muy amados de la gente popular, y no mal quistos entre la principal, aunque en todas las buenas partes que un cauallero deue tener se auentajassen a todos los otros. Eran muy estimados del Rey, nunca cometieron cosa en la guerra ni el consejo, que la experiençia no correspondiesse a lo que dellos se esperaua, en tanto grado era loada su ualentia, libertad y gentileza, que se trajo por exemplo, no auer abencerraje couarde, escasso, ni de mala disposiçion. Eran maestros de los trajes, de las inuençiones, la cortesia y seruiçio de las damas andaua en ellos en su uerdadero punto, nunca abençerraje siruio dama de quien no fuesse fauoreçido, ni dama se tuuo por digna deste nombre que no tuuiesse abençerraje por seruidor.

le seguían? No pienses que sólo pierdes a ellos, que también pierdes otros muchos claros linages de cavalleros, guarda y defendimiento de Granada y su reyno. Pues mira lo que te digo, que algún día los has de echar menos y te ha de pesar por averlos desterrado sin culpa.' Bien sentía el Rey lo mal que lo hazía en desterrar tan nobles cavalleros: mas por no dar su brazo a torcer ni bolver atrás lo que tenía començado, hazía sus orejas sordas, aunque es verdad que oya los llantos que por la ciudad se hazían por el ausencia de tan principales cavalleros. Desta manera salieron de Granada los Abencerrages y muchos ciudadanos se fueron con ellos diziendo: que adonde los Abencerrages fuessen, avían de yr. Muy desconsolada quedó Granada, muy tristes quedaron las damas, tristes los cavalleros, tristes los Christianos captivos, pues perdían mucha charidad y limosnas que los Abencerrages les davan y hazían. Ydos los Abencerrages, el Rey Chico se metió por sus haziendas dellos, mandó que se pregonassen por traydores; lo qual, Muça y los demás no consintieron, porque si tal passava, se avían de renovar las guerras entre ellos. Aviendo cessado este propósito del Reyecillo, se sossegaron los cavalleros que estavan de la parte de los Abencerrages.[21]

". . . Toda la demás gente andava por toda el Alhambra buscando el Rey con tal alboroto que se hundían todas aquellas torres y casas, resonando el eco de lo que passava por todas aquellas montañas. Y si tempesta y ruydo había en el Alhambra, no menos tumulto y llanto avía en la desdichada ciudad. Todo el pueblo en común llorava los muertos Abencerrages. En

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[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 208–209; Cf. *Diana*, pp. 308–309;

Lleuandolos pues a iustiçiar, era cosa estrañissima uer los llantos de los unos, las endechas de los otros, que de conpassion de estos caualleros por toda la çiudad se hazian. Todos corrian al Rey, comprauanle la misericordia con grandes summas de oro y plata, mas la seueridad fue tanta, que no dio lugar a la clemençia. Y como esto el pueblo uio, los començo a llorar de nueuo; llorauan los caualleros con quien solian acompañarse, llorauan las damas, a quien seruian; lloraua toda la çiudad la honra y autoridad que tales çiudadanos le dauan. Las bozes y alaridos eran tantos que paresçian hundirse. El Rey que a todas estas lagrimas y sentimiento çerraua los oydos, mandó que se executasse la sentençia, y de todo aquel linaje no quedó hombre que no fuesse degollado aquel dia, saluo mi padre y un tio mio, los quales se halló que no auian sido en esta conjuraçion.

particulares casas lloravan a los muertos Zegrís, y Gomeles, y Maças, y otros cavalleros, que murieron a vueltas de ellos en la borrasca. Y assí por este conflicto y alboroto desventurado se dixo este romance, que assí comiença y dize:

En las torres del Alhambra
sonava gran bozería,
y en la ciudad de Granada
grande llanto se hazía,
Porque sin razón el Rey
hizo degollar un día
treynta y seys Abencerrages
Nobles y de grande valía,
a quien Zegrís y Gomeles
acusan de alevosía.
Granada los llora más,
con gran dolor que sentía,
que en perder tales varones
es mucho lo que perdía.
Hombres, niños y mugeres
lloravan tan grande perdida;
lloravan todas las damas
quantas en Granada avía . . ."[22]

". . . ¿Que qualquiera que estuviere sin culpa de los Abencerrages, si tuviere hijos varones que los lleven a criar fuera de Granada y que más no vuelvan a ella? ¿Y que si tuvieren hijas las casen fuera del Reyno? . . . ."[23]

". . . porque tenían toda la gente común de su parte y la flor de los cavalleros della. . ."[24]

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[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 178–179. Cf. same passage from *Diana* quoted in note 21.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 192. Cf. *Diana*, p. 309:
. . . y que ningun abençerraje más pudiesse biuir en Granada, saluo mi padre y mi tio, con condiçion que si tuuiessen hijos, a los uarones embiassen luego en nasçiendo a criar fuera de la çiudad, para que nunca boluiessen a ella; y que si fuessen henbras, que siendo de edad, las casassen fuera del reyno.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 205. Cf. *Diana*, p. 308:
Eran muy amados de la gente popular, y no mal quistos entre la principal. . .

". . . Y luego les mandó tomar sus bienes y tornarlos a pregonar por traydores . . ."[25]

The story of Gazul and Lindaraxa as it appears in the *Guerras civiles de Granada* is very similar in plot and in many details to the Abencerrage story. Some of the points of resemblance appear in the following words of Gazul, addressed to the Christian warriors who, dressed as Moors, are on their way to the defense of the Sultana; and in the ballad of Gazul which follows:

"Avéys de saber, señores cavalleros, que a mí me llaman Mahomad Gazul; soy natural de Granada; vengo de San Lúcar, porque allí está la cosa que más quiero y amo en esta vida, que es una muy hermosa dama llamada Lindaraxa, de casta de los famosos Abencerrages. Salióse de Granada por respecto que el Rey de Granada mandó que los Abencerrages fuessen desterrados della sin culpa, aviendo ya degollado dellos treynta y seys cavalleros, que eran la flor de Granada. Por esta ocasión, como digo, mi señora se fué a San Lúcar a estar con un tío suyo, hermano de su padre. Yo la acompañé en esta jornada, y llegados a San Lúcar, con la vista de mi señora, yo vivía en gloria y passava una vida muy a mi contento."[26]

Estando ambos a dos
en un jardín muy florido,
con amorosos regalos
siendo cada qual servido,
Lindaraxa, afficionada,
una guirnalda ha texido
de clavelinas y rosas
y de un alhaylí escogido,
Cercada de violetas,
flor que de amantes ha sido,
se la puso en la cabeça
a Guzul, y ansí le ha dicho:

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[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 219. Cf. *Diana*, p. 309:
Resultó . . . apregonallos el Rey por traydores, confiscalles sus heredades y tierras. . .

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 224. Cf. the general plan of the Abencerrage story. Cf. also from *Diana*, p. 309:
. . . por no quebrar el edicto del rey. . .
. . . tenia una hija, la qual es el mayor bien que yo en esta uida tengo. . .
. . . mil uidas diera por gozar de su uista solo vn momento.

"Nunca fuera Ganimedes
de rostro tan escogido;
si el gran Júpiter te viera,
él te llevara consigo."
El fuerte Gazul la abraça,
diziéndole con un riso:
"No pudo ser tan hermosa
la que el Troyano ha escogido,
Por la qual se perdió Troya
y en fuego se avía encendido,
como tú, señora mía,
vencedora de Cupido."[27]

An interesting but somewhat vague reference which may have a general bearing on the Abencerrage story is attributed to the Alcayde de Alhama:

"Con esto fué el Alcayde preso, aviendo respondido que él no tenía culpa de aquella pérdida; que el Rey le avía dado licencia para que fuesse a Antequera a hallarse en unas bodas de su hermana, que el buen Alcayde de Narváez la casava allí con un cavallero y la hazía libre de captiva que era, y que el Rey le avía dado ocho días más de licencia que él le avía pedido."[28]

We are also reminded in a general way of the Abencerrage story by certain details of the love affair of Zaide and Zaida;[29] by the liberality of the victor, el Maestre, to Muça; the words of devotion and promise expressed by Muça;[30] and by the garden scene in which Abinhamad puts a garland of roses upon his own head after his pleasure with the Queen.[31]

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[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 297. Cf. *Diana*, p. 309:
. . . lebanteme, y boluiendo las manos hazia vnos jazmines, de que aquella fuente estaua rodeada, mezclandolos con arrayanes hize vna hermosa guirnalda, y poniendomela sobre mi cabeça, me bolui coronado y vençido; entonçes ella puso los ojos en mí más dulçemente al pareçer, y quitandome la guirnalda la puso sobre su cabeça, pareçiendo en aquel punto más hermosa que Venus, y boluiendo el rostro hazia mí, me dixo: ¿Qué te pareçe de mí, Abindarraez? Yo la dixe: Pareçeme que acabays de vençer a todo el mundo, y que os coronan por reyna y señora dél.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

[29] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 47, 51, 299, 306.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

In our study of the ballads we are helped by Pérez de Hita himself, who gives us a clue to one, at least, of the collections which he used. In telling the story of Lindaraxa he adds:

"Desta dama se hace mención en otras partes, y más en una recopilación que anda hecha agora nuevamente por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo."[32] Elsewhere, after quoting ballad versions of a story, he adds: "Y aunque son romances viejos, es muy bueno traerlos a la memoria para los que agora vienen al mundo; porque entiendan la historia porque se cantaron. Y aunque los romances son viejos, son buenos para el effecto que digo."[33]

The two statements of Pérez de Hita lead us to expect in the beginning what we eventually will find to be true,—all but sixteen of the quoted ballads are found in Moncayo's collection. For the others we must look elsewhere, and although they are not to be found in any of the printed collections available, it may definitely be said that they present no material which diverges in any important way from the atmosphere or events of the other ballads. Since Pérez de Hita wrote so many ballads for the second part of his book it is reasonable to assume that those sixteen mentioned above were composed by him, or that they were never printed, or were lost.

It will be seen that a survey of the ballads quoted and developed by Pérez de Hita will supply us precisely with those Moorish elements of color which Blanchard-Demouge thinks must be credited to Ibn Aljatib. It is significant that she only casually suggests the influence of ballads other than those which are actually quoted. To one who has read the chronicles and the *romanceros* which precede the *Historia* it is at once obvious that a measureless mine of realistic or sentimental fictional material was so exposed to even the most casual observer or listener that so interested an observer as Pérez de Hita could not help but feel its influence. Furthermore, since Pérez de Hita quoted some ballads we may reasonably assume that he had read many others. But we shall let the ballads speak for themselves.

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[32] *Op. cit.*, pp. 114–115. The *Flor de varios romances agora nuevamente recopilados por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo*, Huesca, 1589, is the edition of this book examined by Paula Blanchard-Demouge.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

In the course of this study over four hundred ballads printed before 1595 were found which suggested in some way or other the events, characters or atmosphere of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*. Since it is our especial purpose to show that Pérez de Hita simply used fictional and descriptive elements which already existed in Spanish literature we will describe briefly a representative group of the ballads from which he obviously drew his material, although the ballads themselves are not quoted. It is apparent that out of the countless number of ballads which Pérez de Hita had at his disposal, he utilized only the *romances fronterizos* and *romances moriscos* such as those which follow:

"Por la vega de Granada
Un caballero pasea . . . "[34]

Don Rodrigo Téllez de Girón, Maestre de Calatrava, comes to Granada and challenges the Moors to combat. Barbarín accepts the challenge. The Maestre kills him, and sends his head to the Queen.

"¡Áy Dios, qué buen caballero
El maestre de Calatrava !. . . "[35]

Albayaldos comes to Boabdil and offers his services in subduing the Maestre de Calatrava. Boabdil accepts the offer. In the encounter which follows Albayaldos is killed, and his company is routed.

"Sobre el muro de Baena,
La mano puesta en la barba, . . . "[36]

King Ferdinand gives Rey Chico of Granada his liberty, ordering him to go to Cordoba.

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[34] Anon., Timoneda, *Rosa española;* Wolf, *Rosa de romances;* Durán II, 1095; cf. Pérez de Hita, I, 110–113.

[35] Manuscript of the 16th century; Timoneda, *Rosa española;* Wolf, *Rosa de romances;* Durán, II, 1102; cf. Hita (Chapter 11), who treats this same subject, but who quotes a different ballad,

"De tres mortales heridas,
De que mucha sangre vierte . . ."

He quotes part of the first named ballad, however, a propos of a battle with the Maestre and Muza. (I, 34.)

[36] Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega, *Romancero y tragedias;* Durán, II, 1070. Cf. Hita, I, 263.

Paseábase el rey moro
Por la ciudad de Granada,—[37]

An old Moor blames the king of Granada for the loss of Alhama, crying out that the Abencerrages should never have been killed.

"Año de noventa y dos
Por enero de este año . . . "[38]

Rey Chico, after the fall of Granada, does not allow his men to show him the usual courtesies. He weeps and is chided by his mother.

"Sevilla está en una torre
La más alta de Toledo . . . "[39]

King Búcar (not the one who fought the Cid in Valencia, says Durán) orders that every man who is in love should marry his lady. The King's nephew objects on the grounds that his lady is already married. He is therefore excused from complying with the law.

"Por arrimo su abornoz,
Y por alfombra su adarga . . . "[40]

Abenamar stops his horse before the dwelling of his beloved Galiana and laments that he is unable to be with her. He cries out against the unhappy lot of lovers in general, and then goes on his way to Ocaña. His appeal to the almond tree is interesting in that it deals with coats-of-arms and devices which play so great a part in the *Guerras civiles de Granada:*

"¡Ay, almendro! cómo muestras
Que la dicha anticipada
No nació cuando debiera,
Y así debe, y nunca paga!
Pues eres ejemplo triste
De lo que en mi dicha pasa,

---

[37] Anon., *Cancionero de Romances;* Timoneda, *Rosa española;* Durán, II 1063. Cf. Hita, I, 252–5.

[38] Fuentes, *Libro de los cuarenta cantos;* Durán II, 1083. Hita (I, 289) seems to follow this ballad closely, but he attributes his knowledge of the events to "nuestro coronista."

[39] *Rosa gentil;* Wolf, *Rosa de Romances;* Durán, I, 6. Cf. Hita I, 144.

[40] *Romancero general; Flor de varios y nuevos romances,* 1a parte; Durán, I, 12; cf. Hita 1, 65.

Yo prometo de traerte
Por divisa de mi adarga;
Que abrasado y florecido
Aquí como mi esperanza,
Bien te cuadrara esta letra:
'Del tiempo ha sido la falta.' "

"Desesperado camina
Ese moro de Villalba . . . "[41]

Gazul laments because of the harm caused to his love affair with Zaida by slanderous tongues. He appeals to the Tagus for consolation.

"Di, Zaida, ¿de qué me avisas?
¿Quieres que muera y que calle? . . . "[42]

This is the answer to an earlier ballad in which Zaida reproves Zaide for his alleged indiscretions as a lover. Zaide here laments his fate and pleads that his lady be more tolerant.

"Abindarráez y Muza,
Y el rey Chico de Granada . . . "[43]

Abindarráez, Muza and Rey Chico are in love with Jarifa, Zaida, and Zara respectively. We are told what the devices of the three lovers are, and are informed as to their rich clothing and armor. The description begins with Muza:

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[41] Anon., *Romancero general;* Durán, I, 29. See also the other ballads dealing with Gazul, Durán Vol. I, Nos. 30–48; cf. Hita I, 292.

[42] *Romancero general; Flor de varios y nuevos romances,* 4a parte; Durán, I, 58; cf. Hita (I, 49) who quotes one of the many other ballads dealing with the same theme.

[43] *Romancero general; Flor de nuevos y varios romances,* 2a parte; Durán, I, 75. Durán's footnote may be quoted here:

"Este Abindarráez y esta Jarifa son del todo fabulosos, a diferencia de aquellos que son los héroes de la historia de Abindarráez y Narváez, los cuales a pesar de ser muy novelescos, como tienen mucho de lo que se cree verdadero, se han colocado entre los romances históricos. Es uno de los buenos romances moriscos donde se retratan bien los lances de amor y celos a que las fiestas dan lugar."

In Chapter II we have already commented on the possible origin of these ballads of Abindarráez el Tío. Cf. Hita (I, 77-80) who deals at length with this theme but who quotes a different ballad.

"Y entra el Rey, toda bordada
Una marlota amarilla,
De copos de nieve y plata,
Con una letra que dice:
'Sobre mi fuego no basta.'
Gallardo le sigue Muza,
De azul viste cuerpo y alma,
Labradas en campo de oro
Unas pequeñas mordazas,
Cuya empresa de ellas dice:
'Acabaré de acaballas'.
Abindarráez se viste
El color de su esperanza,
Unas yedras sobrepuestas
Con unas tocas doradas,
Un cielo sobre los hombros,
Con unas nubes bordadas,
Y en las yedras esta letra:
'Más verde cuanto más alta.' "

"El gallardo Abindarráez,
Tan conocido por fama . . . "[44]

This is one of the many ballads in which Pedro Padilla shows the influence of the Abencerrage story. Here certainly is that detailed description of tourneys, clothes, and general luxury in Granada which Blanchard-Demouge wishes to ascribe to an eye-witness such as Ibn Aljatib. Durán's comment is interesting:

"Hé aquí una de aquellas composiciones del último tercio del siglo XVI, en que desgraciadamente un buen poeta creyó pujar todo lo hecho en los cortos y lijeros romances moriscos hijos de una rápida inspiración. Pedro de Padilla creyó sin duda haber puesto una pica en Flandes reuniendo en este larguísimo y pesado romance todos los medios, formas, ideas, descripciones y pensamientos, que en los moriscos de su clase repartidos forman cuadros lijeros, o valientes, o tiernos, o graciosos. Hizo lo mismo que hiciera un gran colorista, que para lucirse se empeñase en emplear en un cuadro todos los colores, viniesen o no al caso, que los buenos en el arte emplearon convenientemente. Los

[44] Pedro de Padilla, *Tesoro de varias poesías;* Durán, I, 83. Cf. Hita I, 27-30.

colores en sí serán brillantes y bellos; pero mal empleados, sólo presentan agrado a la vista, sin interesar mucho el alma."

What of the hundreds of other ballads printed before 1595 which are not *fronterizos* and are not *moriscos?* A theory has been proposed by W. W. Comfort according to which he suggests that the *romances moriscos*, and therefore the *Guerras civiles de Granada* are the final links of a long chain of literary compositions preceded by the ballads in imitation of Ariosto.

We may consider for a moment this possibility, bearing in mind the conclusions we have drawn thus far in our study, as well, of course, as the very valuable conclusions of Menéndez Pidal concerning the origin and development of Spanish ballads.

We have shown that the Moors of the *romances fronterizos* and the *romances moriscos* are reflections of the historical Moor who persisted but slightly changed, until fifty years or more after the fall of Granada. One of the strong beliefs expressed by Menéndez Pidal in his *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* is that Spanish popular ballads spring primarily from contemporaneous historical events; and the truth of his statement is borne out by the evidence which he presents of new ballads which are being composed in Spain to this very day, although they are seldom printed or even written down. We have shown that both history and the ballads have offered all the elements of the Abencerrage story. We have shown finally that history, the ballads, and the Abencerrage story have offered all the elements of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*. It may be well, however, to examine the Moors of Arisoto and of the Spanish ballad imitations of Arisoto to see how very different they are from Abindarráez and Reduán, and how very different are their surroundings.

From the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci through the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo and the *Orlando Furioso* there stands out clearly a fantastic and often ironical blending of Carolingian material and the *matière de Bretagne*, with giants, dragons, enchantments, fabulous slaughters of pagans, and speedy flights between the Orient and Occident with whimsical purposes. Obviously the serenading Reduán and the very human and refined Abindarráez would be out of their element here. As for

the Moors of the Italian writers we have here a description by Boiardo:

"Abbenchè Ferragù sia giovanetto,
Bruno era molto e d'orgogliosa voce,
Terribile a guardarlo ne lo aspetto,
Gli occhi avea rossi e con batter veloce;
Mai di lavarsi non ebbe diletto,
Ma, polveroso, ha la faccia feroce;
Il capo acuto aveva quel barone,
Tutto ricciuto e ner come un carbone.
E per questo ad Angelica non piacque,
Che lei voleva ad ogni modo un biondo."[45]

We need mention from Ariosto's work only

"Rodomonte terribile et orrendo,
Che va per mezzo la città correndo . . . "

and

". . . il Saracino atroce
All'arme istrane, alla scagliosa pelle . . ."[46]

In the Spanish ballad imitations of *Orlando Furioso* it is significant that the action is always kept in the unreal setting of the Italian writer. That fact alone explains the remoteness of the Moor Medoro from Abindarráez; and it explains, also, the Spanish acceptance of such impossible perfidy and unnaturalness (to the Spanish mind at least) as that manifested by the heroine of the following typical ballad:

"Entre los dulces testigos
De la gloria de Medoro,
Fuentes, árboles, jazmines,
De las ninfas bello coro
Donde el moro bienandante
Gozó del dulce tesoro

---

[45] Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato*, I, II, 10–11.

[46] *L'Orlando Furioso*, Milano, 1900 (Ed. Augusto Romizi), p. 305. It is only fair to add, however, that even the Moors of Ariosto can be tamed by love, as is the case with Rodomonte, "*terribile et horrendo*," who is bound by the love of the beautiful Doralice, daughter of Stordilan, king of Granada.

Era costei che Rodomonte amava
Più che 'l suo regno e più che gli occhi sui;
E cortesia e valor per lei mostrava . . . *op. cit.*, p. 272.

De aquella bella hermosura
Enlazada en lazos de oro,
Está el valeroso Orlando
Vuelto una fuente de lloro,
Diciendo entre mil suspiros:
¡Ay felicísimo moro!
Dícele:—Fiero enemigo,
¿Que es del sol por quien yo lloro?
¡Agora gozas la lumbre
Por quien en tinieblas moro!
Pues tienes rendida el alma
De aquella a quien yo adoro,
Yo te sacaré la tuya,
Si de este estado mejoro.
Bien sé que con tal venganza
El sér de Orlando desdoro;
Pero el amor me disculpa,
Que a nadie guarda el decoro.—
Luego con rabiosa basca
Bramando cual bravo toro
Se embravece contra sí
Aumentando más su lloro."[47]

In the light of the preceding evidence one can hardly be convinced, therefcre, of the plausibility of Professor Comfort's theory that the *Orlando Furioso*, its Spanish imitations, and the ballads based on them caused the popularity of the so-called *romances de moriscos*. We should suggest that the popular appeal of Ariosto's heroes and heroines is not the cause of the *morisco* fad in Spain, but, together with the Abencerrage story, it is a manifestation of the real cause—a combination of a natural change in sentiment toward the vanquished Moors and the frequently natural desire on the part of readers for an escape from every-day life.

The second part of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* passes beyond the scope of our present study. It probably first appeared

[47] Durán, I, 414.

in Alcalá de Henares in 1604, but the two oldest editions known are those of Barcelona, 1619, and of Cuenca, in the same year. Paula Blanchard-Demouge reproduces the Cuenca edition with the title, *Segunda Parte de las Guerras civiles de Granada, y de los crueles vandos, entre los conuertidos Moros, y vezinos Christianos: con el leuantamiento de todo el Reyno y ultima reuelión, sucedida en el año de 1568 y assí mismo se pone su total ruina, y destierro de los Moros por toda Castllla. Con el fin de las Granadinas Guerras por el Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Segundo deste nombre.*[48]

The most complete study of the second part thus far is also by Paula Blanchard-Demouge who shows that the sources of that book are the *Austriada* of Juan Rufo, the histories of Mármol and Garibay, and the personal experiences of Pérez de Hita himself. With the apparent purpose of being consistent in his method, the author also interpolates many ballads, all but two of which seem to be original.

It is interesting to note that even into this second part the Abencerrage story, somewhat disguised, finds its way.

We are told of the two Zervantes brothers who are sent to capture Moors in order that the movements of the enemy may be learned. As in the Abencerrage story they come to a cross-road where they separate and proceed, each one on his respective way. As will be seen from the following excerpts the valorous and generous rôle of Rodrigo de Narváez is divided between Francisco Zervantes and the Marqués de los Vélez. Abindarráez and Jarifa become Albexari and Almanzora. The story in its new form is related thus:

"Este morisco, según dixo, era de Bolodúy, mançebo de muy buen talle, el qual, siendo amartelado de una hermosa mora, sabiendo que estava cautiva en el Real del Marqués, determinado a morir se salió del Real del Reyecillo y se yva para Verja sólo por saber si su señora era viva o muerta, o si la podría ver o hablarla, y acaso viniendo por aquella oculta vía encontró con Francisco Zervantes, el qual como le viese venir solo, con bravo ánimo le acometió, y el Moro puesto en defensa, aviendo disparado

[48] *Guerras civiles de Granada.* Segunda Parte (Ed. Paula Blanchard-Demouge, Madrid, 1915).

sus arcabuzes y aviendo errado los tiros en la peligrosa escaramuça, Zervantes no dió lugar a que el enamorado Moro tornase a cargar, porque cerrando con él, con la espada desnuda le hirió de una herida no grande. El Moro, viéndose herido, puso a su alfanje mano con açelerado ánimo y començó a dar en Zervantes, y assí anduvieron un grande espacio de tiempo, mostrando cada uno el valor de su persona, y andando escaramuçando; Zervantes no le quería matar por llevarlo vivo a Verja, y quiso su buena suerte que el Moro, mostrando gran desemboltura, pensando aprovecharse del Christiano, con la codicia de la presa tropeçó en un romero de suerte que el desgraciado y mal afortunado Moro cayó de espaldas, mas con grande ánimo se quiso tornar a levantar, mas no le dió lugar el buen Zervantes, porque como le vido caído, con un ánimo de un león y presteza de un ave fué sobre él y dándole un grande empellón le hizo tornar a caer, y foxando con él lo tuvo firme, diziendo: 'Si no te rindes, te mataré con esta daga.' El Moro, como se vido herido y en el suelo atropellado y assido de aquel fortíssimo Christiano, no pudo tanto su ánimo y valor que no temiese morir tan cruda muerte como le amenaçava, y assí, dando un doloroso suspiro sacado de lo más profundo de sus entrañas, arroxó el agudo alfanxe de la mano, diziendo con lágrimas en los ojos: 'Yo me doy por rendido, valeroso Christiano; mas yo te digo que de mejor voluntad tomara la muerte que quedar con la vida, pues la fortuna me ha sido tan contraria que me ha puesto en tal estado, y no creas ¡ o valeroso Christiano! que tu valor a sido parte para que yo vencido fuesse, sino mi corta ventura que assí lo ha permitido; llévame a donde tú quisieres, que tú no me puedes hazer ya tanto mal como mi desdicha me ha hecho,' y diziendo esto el triste Moro disparó con un sentible y doloroso llanto; el buen Francisco Zervantes, lleno de compassión (natural cosa de Christianos dolerse de aquellos que les fallece ventura), tomó el alfanxe y escopeta del Moro, y dándole la mano, le levantó del suelo, y por guardar la usança de la guerra, con la cuerda del arcabuz le ató las manos y partió con él la buelta de Verja.[49]

[49] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 123–124.

The story of which the above episode is a part, is related in the Moor's confession:

"Sabrás, magnánimo y excelente señor, que yo soy del Bolodúy y mi linaje todo es de las Cuevas y Portilla, y soy del linage tan nombrado de los Alvejarines, que ya tu excelencia avrá oydo dezir, pues son naturales de tus tierras. . . . acordé de passarme a la parte de las Cuevas, a donde asisten mis parientes y están puestos en quietud; mas a este pensamiento no dió lugar mi corta fortuna, porque acaso un día fuy preso de la vista de la hermosa Almançora, aquí en este mismo lugar a donde aora estamos; porque aviéndome embiado mi Rey a ciertas cosas que negociase aquí y en Adra, pudo la hermosa Almançora hacer en mí esta presión, a donde después de averme detenido por su causa en este lugar más de la orden que yo traya, quedamos los dos prendados que nos casaríamos; con esta prenda de verdaderos casados pude goçar unas pocas de horas de mi bien. La obligación que tenía de bolver a mi Rey me apartó de mi nueva gloria, de todo mi bien, consuelo y dulce alegría. Bolví a Valor (que más valiera no aver buelto) llevando siempre en mi memoria a la imágen de mi señora Almançora; una hora de ausencia, se me hazía mil años; desseava grandemente el fin de la guerra por ver en qué parava mi Almançora; quiso el cielo, duro por mi daño, que tus militares vanderas llegasen a esta parte, a donde todo mi bien cayó en tus manos. Yo, como supe que Verja estava ocupada con tu poderoso exército, y mi bien yo no supiesse el fin que hizo ni a dónde se me fué, como aborrecido de mí mismo, porque sin mi Almançora no me reconozco a mí, determiné entregarme a la muerte o a perpetua esclavitud, y assí tomé el camino de mi gloria, que harto siento en verme en el lugar a donde un tiempo ya fué mi contento; mi determinación fué morir o si no de ponerme en tus manos. Como esclavo salí de Valor, tomé la buelta de Verja, fortuna quiso un tu soldado, valeroso como un Marte, después de averme herido me prendió, y sabrás, valeroso Marqués, que en mi prisión no huvo mucha resistencia con el desseo de ver a Verja y por saber de mi alma, que a no aver esto de por medio, mi rendimiento no fuera tan breve, y ya que fuera, antes consintiera el morir que verme en prisión; preso vine, herido estoy, de tu excelencia cautivo no

puedo huyr de ser tu esclavo, de tus tierras son mis padres y todos mis passados; si me has de dar ¡o buen Marqués! la muerte, suplico a tu grandeza que primero des piadoso lugar que yo pueda ver a mi Almançora y después de esta soberana gloria manda executar en mí tu sentencia. . . '

"Con esto dio el Moro fin a su razonamiento dexando al Marqués muy maravillado de la historia del Moro. Y como el Marqués fuesse lleno de tanta clemencia como de nobleza y vitud, le hizo aquel Moro compasión, y assí le mandó llevar de allí y que le curassen con diligencia y que le diessen ración, considerando que al fin aquel Moro era de noble sangre y decendiente de principales cavalleros. Y assí este Moro sirvió al Marqués hasta passada la guerra y estuvo en su servicio hasta que el Marqués murió, el qual casó con Almançora, su señora, y aora vive este morisco y su muger en Villanueva de Alcaudete a su contento y rico de bienes de fortuna."[50]

Our subject has been concerned with so many questions involving attention to details and to dates that it has been thought necessary to refer constantly to our main objectives. It may not be amiss, however, to state once more what we think may now be considered logical conclusions.

The sentimental or Christianized type of Moor of the Abencerraje story and the *Guerras civiles de Granada* seems to have been an historical reality in Spain until about the year 1550, in spite of the opinions of Menéndez y Pelayo and others. Previous to the fall of Granada the Moors were presented in Spanish literature in the unfavorable way which one would expect of their enemies. With the permanent subjection of the Moors (as a dangerous organized body at least) in Spain, there sprang up among Spaniards a feeling of tolerance for their old enemies; and this feeling of tolerance was reflected in Spanish literature. The change in attitude was far from sudden, however, for the vast numbers of Christians living among Moors and of Moors living among Christians had tended to break down the barriers between the two peoples when there was no immediate danger of

[50] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 126–127.

treachery or revolt. Since literary works with an atmosphere of tolerance and friendship would naturally be out of place and unpopular as long as the Moors had a foothold in the country, it is not until after 1492 that we see the sentimental Moor beginning to develop as a literary type. The type is crystallized in the Abencerrage story which struck the popular fancy and served thereafter as the model for the sentimental Moor in all genres, exerting an influence more widespread and important than has hitherto been recognized. Lastly, it is hardly necessary to add that the Moors of Ariosto remained the fanciful, exotic creatures that they were in the minds of the Italians, and had no effect on Spanish treatment of the native Moor.

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